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VIRGINIA VETUSTA,

DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.

CONTAINING

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

A SUPPLEMENT TO

THE HISTORY OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY.

BY

EDWARD D. NEILL.

NEC FALSA DICERE, NEC VERA RETICERE.

ALBANY, N. Y.:
JOEL MUNSELL'S SONS, 82 STATE ST.
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PREFACE.

IN the belief, that there was need of such a contribution, to the documentary history, of the early colonial period of Virginia, this work has been prepared. It is intended to supplement the *History of the Virginia Company of London*, which was published several years ago, and has proved of some value to the students of American history.

It is quite remarkable, that for two centuries, historical writers chiefly depended upon a book compiled by an adventurer, for a knowledge of the early English colonization in North America. The once Deputy Governor of Virginia, George Percy, in a letter, to his brother Henry the 9th Earl of Northumberland, refers to a publication, "wherein the author hath not spared to appropriate many deserts to himself, *which he never performed, and stuffed his relations with so many falsities, and malicious detractions.*"

As yet no document of the period of James the First, has been discovered, which tells where the church was situated, in which John Rolfe was married to Pocahontas, and the name of the officiating clergyman. There is

evidence however, that Rolfe, in 1609, left England with a white wife, and that she gave birth to a daughter at Bermudas, who soon died. Hamor writes, that "about the fifth of April," 1614, Rolfe began to live with the Indian woman, and he is supposed, then, to have been a widower. With Pocahontas he went to England, and in March, 1617, she died at Gravesend. Rolfe returned to Virginia, and soon married Jane, a daughter of William Pierce[1], Governor of Jamestown, "inferior to none in experience, industry and capacity" who in 1609, had left England, in the same vessel, with Rolfe. Early in 1622 Rolfe died, leaving his widow Jane, and in the words of his will "two small children of very tender age," a son Thomas, about three years old, and a daughter Elizabeth, one year of age.

In 1623, the father of the widow went to England[2], and as Jane Rolfe, and her son Thomas, are not mentioned in the census, of January, 1624 (O. S.), while the daughter, now four years old, is noted as residing with a Captain Roger Smith of Jamestown, an officer who had served twelve years in the wars of the Netherlands, now one of the Virginia Council, it seems probable, that Capt. William Pierce had taken his daughter, and grandson Thomas with him. At Sculthorpe Rectory, Co. Norfolk, England, there is a portrait of a wife of John Rolfe, with

[1] Sometimes written Peirse, Pyers, Perce, Peirce.

[2] On Nov. 19, 1623, the Virginia Company issued a commission for William Peirce, Master of the good ship, called the "Return" of 100 tons, bound for transportation of passengers, to Virginia. *History of Virginia Company*, p. 382.

a son, by her side. Her hair is parted in the middle, there is no head ornament, and the face has a natural expression. It represents a woman in the dress of the period, about thirty years of age.[1] This portrait once belonged to the Rolfes of Norfolk. In Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey* it is mentioned that Thomas Rolfe married in England, had a son Anthony, whose daughter Hannah married Sir Thomas Leigh.

Since Chapter Eighth was printed, by the courtesy of Lord Leconfield, of Petworth House, the following copy from the original Percy manuscript has been received, which is worthy of being incorporated with the prefatory note.

RELATION OF GEORGE PERCY.

"To the right honorable, the Lorde Percy

"My Lorde, This relacyon I have here sente your Lordshipp, is for towe respecks, the one, to showe howe mutche I honor you, and desyre to doe you service, the other, in regard that many untreuthes concerneinge theis pc̄edinges have bene formerly published, wherein the Author hathe nott spared to apropriate many deserts to him selfe w^{ch} he never p'formed, and stuffed his relacyons wth so many falseties, and malycyous detractyons, nott onely of this p'ts and tyme, w^{ch} I have selected to treate of, Butt of former occurrentes also: So thatt I coulde nott conteine my selfe, but expresse the Treuthe unto your Lordshipp

[1] London *Notes and Queries*, VI Series, Vol. X, p. 296.

concerninge theise affayres, and all w^ch^ I ayme att is to manyfeste my selfe in all my actyons bothe now and alwayes to be

" Your Lordshipps humble and
faithfull servante
"G. P."

" A Trewe Relacyon of the p'cedeinges and ocurentes of momente w^ch^ have hapened in Virginia, from the Tyme S^r^ Thomas Gates was shipwrackte uppon the Bermudas An° 1609, untill my dep'ture out of the Country w^ch^ was in An° 1612.

" If we Trewly consider the diversety of miseries, mutenies, and famishmentte w^ch^ have attended upon discoveries, and plantacyons in theis our modern tymes, we shall nott fynde our plantacyon in Virginia, to have suffered aloane.

" Ladoniere had his share thereof in Florida, nextt neighbour unto Virginia, where his sowldiers did fall into mutenies, and in the ende weare allmoste all starved for want of foode.

" The Spanyard Plantacyon in the River of Plate, and the Streightes of Magelene suffered also, in soe mutche that haveinge eaten upp all their horses to susteine themselves withall, mutenies did aryse, and growe amongst them for the w^ch^ the Generall Diego Mendosa cawsed some of them to be executed, extremety of hunger inforceing others secretly in the nighte to cutt downe their deade fellowes from of the gallowes, and to bury them in their hungry Bowelles.

"The Plantacyon in Carthagena was also lamentable, that wante of wholesome foode wherewth for to mainteyne lyfe, weare inforced to eate toades, snakes, and sutche lyke venomous wormes, sutche is the sharpnes of hunger.

"To this purpose, many other examples mighte be recyted butt the Relacyon ittselfe being briefe I have noe intente to be tedyous, butt to delyver the trewthe briefly, and plainely the w^{ch} I dowte nott butt will rather lyke than loathe the reader, nor doe I purpose to use any elloquent style or phrase the w^{ch} indede in me is wantinge. Butt to delyver thatt trewly w^{ch} myselfe and many others had bitter experyense of. Many other woes and miseries have hapned unto our Collonie in Virginia bothe before and since that Tyme, w^{ch} now I doe intende to treate of, having selected this p^{te} from the reste for towe respectts, firste, in regard I was moste frequente and acquaynted wth their p'cedeinge, being most part of the tyme presydentt and Governour, nextt, in respectt the leaste p'te hereof hath not been formerly published.

"In the yere of our Lorde 1609 S^{r} Tho: Gates and S^{r} George Somers accompanyed wth divers Gentlemen, Sowldiers, and Seamen, in nyne goode-Shippes did beginne their voyage for"

[Here there is a gap in the original manuscript. It contained 41 pages, but a portion of 3d page, and all subsequent pages to the 38th are missing. Purchas in writing his "Pilgrimage" in 1614, had used one of the manuscript relations of George Percy. Before he published his four volumes of "Pilgrimes" in 1625, he may have taken the portion of this Relation which is missing. The 38th page begins as follows:]

"Sr Tho: Dale haveinge allmoste finished the foarte, and settled a plantacyon in that p'te dyvrs of his men being idell, and not willinge to take paynes, did runne away unto the Indyans; many of them beinge taken againe, Sr Thomas in a moste severe manner cawsed to be executed, some he appointed to be hanged, some burned, some to be broken on wheels, others to be staked, and some to be shott to deathe, all theis extreme and crewell tortures he used, and inflicted upon them, to terrefy the reste for attempteinge the lyke, and some wch robbed the store, he cawsed them, to be bowned faste unto trees, and so starved them to deathe.

"So leaveinge Sr Thomas busely imployed in furnishinge the ffoarte and settlinge their habitacyons, lett us retourne to James towne againe, where, our Governour Sr Tho: Gates was resydentt. Onely by the waye houlde a little att Algernoune's foarte[1] the wch was accidentally burned downe to the grownde, except Captn Davis howse, and the store howse, Whereupon Captn Davis fearinge to receive some displeasure, and to be removed from thense, the same beinge the moste plentiffullest place for food; he used sutche expedityon in the rebuyldeinge the same againe that itt is allmoste incredible.

"Dyv'rs Indyans used to come to our foarte att James Towne bringinge victualls wth them butt indeede did rather come as spyes then any good affectyon they did beare unto us. Some of them Sr Tho: Gates cawsed to be apprehended and executed for a terrour to the reste, to cause them to desiste from their subtell practyses.

[1] At Point Comfort.

"Thus haveinge related unto your Lordshipp the trewe p'cedenge in Virginia from S^r^ Tho: Gates Shippwracke upon the Bermudes, untill my dep'ture out of the country w^ch^ was then the 22d April, 1612, the w^ch^ day I sett sayle in a shipp named the "Tryall," and haveing by computatyon sayled about 200 leagues w^th^ a reasonable goode wynde and fayere weather, upon a sudden, a greate storme did aryse in so mutche that the misson maste did springe with the vyolence of the wyndes, and lyeinge in the Greate Cabbin where the misson stoode, I was thereby mutche indaungered, and in perill of my lyfe, for the same w^th^ greate force did grate upon my cabbin, and narrowly missed me, and a barrell full w^th^ bere beinge in the cabbin, the misson strucke the same to pieces, that all the bere did runne about the cabbin.

"The storme ceasinge and our misson amended, we recovered Flores, Corves and St. Michells[1] nott touchinge att any of theis Islandes, butt shaped our course northwarde where fallinge becallmed, our daunger was greater than the former, for feare of famine and wante of foode haveinge butt a poore small quantitie of freshe water, and that was so stencheous that onely washinge my handes therew^th^ I cold nott endure the sent thereof. Our greateste store of foode was pease, and thease weare so corrupted mouldie, rotten and worme eaten that there was no substance lefte in them, but beinge stirred wolde crumble into duste, so that for want of foode we weare lyke to perishe.

[1] Of the Azores.

"But God lookeinge mercyfully upon us when we leaste expected to see our native country againe we happely met wth a shippe of London bounde for Newefoundlande one Baker, being Master thereof, who reladed us wth befe, fishe, Breade, bere, and tobaco w^{ch} greatly comforted us, and saved our lyves for itt was above thirty dayes after, before we made lande w^{ch} was Irelande. So after a long and dangerous voyage we did fall wth the lande, and putt into Crooke haven where we remayned some foureteene dayes in w^{ch} tyme we refreshed ourselves, and revictewled our shipp, and then sett sayle againe, and wth in eight dayes after aryved in England, and anchored in Dover Roade where we did mete wth S^{r} Samuell Argall bownde for New England to displant the French collenie there, the w^{ch} as I after heard was valliantly p'formed, Butt how juste the cawse was I refer the same to a judityous censor. So stayeinge there some fewe dayes at Dover to accompany S^{r} Samuell, I tooke poaste horse, and from thence roade to London. Finis"

The above relation was prepared after Captain John Smith published exaggerated and incorrect narratives. Captain Argall was not knighted until A.D. 1622, and the reference to Sir Samuel shows that it was subsequently written. Before the copy of Percy's Relation was received, page 86 of this volume was printed, where it is erroneously conjectured, that Percy returned to England in the ship "Treasurer," Capt. Argall. By his own statement, he was a passenger in the "Trial."

For several vignettes, used in the titles of books, I am indebted to the kindness of Hon. John R. Bartlett of

Providence, Rhode Island, and my thanks are also due to W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq., of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, and Lord Leconfield of Petworth, for prompt attention to my requests.

EDWARD D. NEILL.

Saint Paul, Minnesota,
January, 1885.

CORRIGENDA.

Owing to the distance of the writer, from the press, it is necessary to append a few corrigenda.

Page	8	sixth Earl,	should read	ninth.
"	14	Turk's heads,	" "	Turks'.
"	20	After 1607,	" "	at.
"	64	O'Halliwell,	" "	O. Halliwell.
"	66	W. Dutton,	" "	J. Dutton.
"	71	L'd Thomas Smythes,	" "	Sir Thomas Smythes.
"	72	Blomt,	" "	Blount.
"	74	Omit in caption, and Rev. Alexander Whitaker.		
"	76	After Argall,	should read	sailed.
"	86	In place of "it is supposed in the ship 'Treasurer,' Capt. Argall in command,"	" "	a passenger in the ship "Trial."
"	"	him in footnote,	" "	George Percy.
"	"	Stafford,	" "	Strafford.
"	94	brother of Sir. W. Throckmorton,	" "	sister.
"	100	ruin,	" "	inn.
"	111	One cow keeper,	" "	Our.
"	122	Sanisbury,	" "	Sainsbury.
"	"	His Majesty's,	" "	Her.
"	125	Inquilanas,	" "	Inquilinas.
"	127	Iuopem,	" "	Inopem.
"	135	Eu dat,	" "	En.
"	184	We also,	" "	He.

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Virginia Vetusta.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS IN CONNECTION WITH ORGANIZATION OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY.

T the beginning of the seventeenth century, Henry, the Earl of Southampton, and a few others, revived the scheme of Sir Walter Raleigh, to found an English settlement in North America. Southampton, with his brother-in-law, Thomas, Earl Arundel, in 1605, sent out Captain Waymouth of Corkington, Devonshire, on a voyage of discovery, who returned on the eighteenth of July, to England, with five Indians, three of whom, were cared for by Sir Ferdinand Gorges, then in command of Plymouth Castle. In a few weeks, Waymouth was preparing for another voyage, and on the 30th of October, articles of agreement were drawn[1] by which Sir John Zouche, Knight,

[1] Appendix to *Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.*

of Codnor, in Derbyshire, was to furnish at his own cost two ships with "all necessaries of victual, provision, munition, and two hundred able and sufficient men, fitting for a plantation and a colony." Sir John was to be chief, and Waymouth second in command. If it so pleased God "to prosper and bless the intended voyage and the actors of the same, that thereby the land should be inhabited with an English nation, and according to politic estate of Government, proportion of land be allotted to each, as such should be transported thither to inhabit; then, after Sir John should have made his choice, and assumed into his possession, in manner of inheritance such quantity of land as he should think good, Capt. Waymouth and his assigns to make his or their next choice of land, to hold of Sir John, as Lord Paramount."

Before this agreement, Waymouth had arranged with Parker, Canne, Love, and Morgan of Plymouth to carry them "with their shipping and provision to the land of Virginia, there to fish and traffic, and do what else should be fitting for a merchant voyage." Zouche[1] consented to carry out this contract with the understanding that they were not to trade there longer than a year.

Before the contract between Zouche and Captain Waymouth was carried into effect, a broader movement was initiated. In A.D., 1602, Richard Hakluyt, who as Prebendary of Bristol Cathedral had shown a deep

[1] Captain John Zouche, and Sir Walter Raleigh were each in command of a company at the siege in 1580 of the Spanish Fort near Tralee in the south-west part of Ireland, and in August, 1581, Zouche was promoted as Governor of Munster.

interest in the voyages made to Virginia by Grenville, Lane and White; and in A.D., 1589, had published his still celebrated collection of Voyages and Discoveries, in some copies of which, is a map of America containing the names of Virginia and Lake Ontario, came up to London, to reside as Prebendary of Westminster Abbey. A few months after his arrival, died the illustrious Queen Elizabeth, and on the seventh of May, 1603, her successor, James the First, was received in London, when the complexion of political parties begun to change, and Hakluyt found those who had been, and were still, friendly to him, inimical to each other. By the influence of the Spanish party in politics, Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he had dedicated some of his works, was now in the tower of London and the rough Chief Justice Popham another friend of American colonization had sentenced Raleigh to death.

In the same tower, toward the close of the year, 1605, was confined an earnest well-wisher to Virginia, Henry, the sixth Earl of Northumberland; and in frequent converse, with these prisoners of State, was seen a common friend, Thomas Hariot,[1] who had been a tutor in Raleigh's family, accompanied Grenville in 1585, to North Carolina, and written in 1588 "a briefe and true report of the New Found Land of Virginia."

---

[1] Thomas Hariot born about 1560, was educated at Oxford. Wood in *Athenæ Oxonienses* mentions that he was at one time a tutor in Raleigh's family. He was also in the employ of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Hallam writes that he "was destined to make the last great discovery in the pure science of Algebra." Des Cartes the French philosopher profited by his investigations.

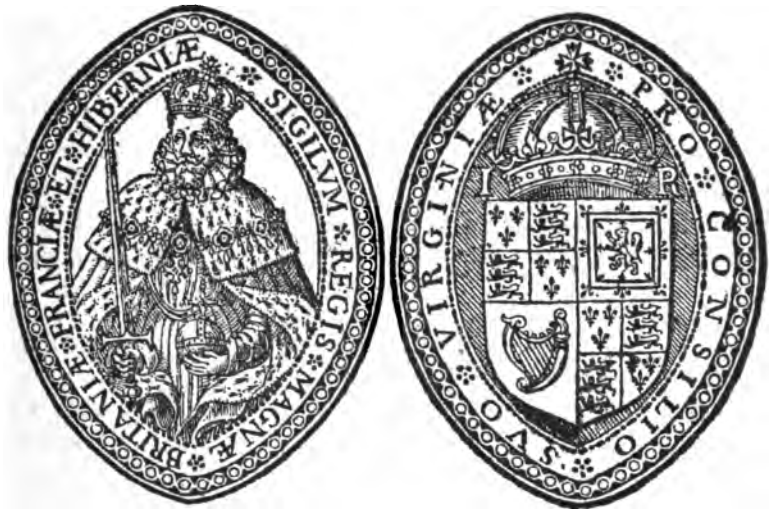
In the spirit of Christ the Consoler, Hakluyt must have taken pleasure in visiting those in prison, and in conversing with them, upon the different projects, that were talked over in the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill Ward, for the planting of a colony in Virginia.

During the winter of 1605–6, the Earl of Southampton, Richard Hakluyt, and many "firm and hearty" friends of colonization agreed to unite in a Company for the settlement of Englishmen in North America, in which the interests of London and Bristol merchants would be acknowledged, and freedom to work, each by their own methods.

On the 10th day of April, 1606, a patent was issued to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers and others, to send a colony to Virginia. For the more speedy accomplishment of an English settlement the charter provided for "two several colonies and companies," each of which was to have a Council of thirteen persons to be guided by the King's instructions. Each council was to have a seal with the King's Arms engraved on one side, "and his portraiture on the other;" on one side of the seal of the first colony were to be the words *Sigillum regis Magnæ Brittaniæ, Franciæ and Hiberniæ;* on the other side *Pro concilio primæ coloniæ Virginiæ.* The seal of the second was the same as the first except the change in the legend on one side to *Pro concilio secundæ Coloniæ Virginiæ*

There was also provision made for a Council, resident in England, known as the King's *Council of Virginia* which should have the managing and direction of the settlement within the limit of the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees

of north latitude. This Council was to have a seal like the others, but the legend on one side *Pro Concilio suo Virginiæ.*



While the Charter was sealed on the tenth of April, it was not until the twentieth of November, 1606, that the King issued his first instructions, under the patent to his first Council of Virginia.

The persons selected for the Council were men recognized as men of position not only in the city of London, but throughout England.

By the instructions of the King, his Council in England for Virginia was empowered to appoint and direct the members of the Councils in Virginia. Each Colonial Council was not to exceed thirteen persons, and for just cause, a majority in each Council could remove the president, or any other member.

It was also directed "that no person should be admitted to abide or remain in the said Colonies, but such as should take, not only the usual oath of obedience, but also the oath prescribed in the last session of Parliament, holden at Westminster, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign for due obedience to the King, his heirs, and successors.[1]"

The King's Council of Virginia, also, on the tenth of December, issued orders for the captains, mariners and others that were about to settle the first Colony in Virginia[2].

On the 13th of May, 1607, the first colonists landed on a peninsula of Virginia selected for its good anchorage and named the settlement James Town in honor of the King.

---

[1] The first instructions of the King's Council in England for Virginia are fully given in Stith's *History of Virginia*, Williamsburg, 1747, pp. 37–41.

[2] These directions were for the first time printed in full in *History of the Virginia Company of London*, Joel Munsell, publisher, Albany, N. Y., 1869, pp. 4–14.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST COUNCIL IN VIRGINIA. NOTICES OF EARLY COLONISTS AFFAIRS AT JAMESTOWN, A.D., 1607–A.D., 1609.

THE first Council in Virginia, appointed by the King's Council in England, were Edward Maria Wingfield, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, Capt. John Smith, Capt. John Ratcliffe, Capt. John Martin and Capt. George[1] Kendall.

On the 13th of May, 1607, the members of the Council were sworn, but Captain John Smith, and Wingfield elected President. Some of the Council were by no means the flower of England, or the salt of the earth.

Edward Maria Wingfield.

Wingfield was the son of Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, who in 1597, was Knighted in Ireland for military services. He had not been an exemplary youth and is supposed to be the same person of whom Sir Francis Knollys on the 28th of June, 1580, wrote to Walsingham, Secretary of State, in these words "Edward Wingfield is to be called before the Council for outrages in Kimbolton." He lived beyond his income before he attained the age of manhood. On the 28th of January, 1582, the Lords of the Privy

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[1] In *History of the Virginia Company*, Munsell, 1869, p. 15, Kendall's christian name, by a typographical error, is given as John.

Council wrote to the Lord Mayor of London "that Edward Wingfield, son and heir apparent to Thomas Wingfield of Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire, had contracted certain debts, under age, to sundry persons in the city. The Council had thought it meet to recommend the Lord Chancellor to examine into the said debts, and in the meantime to request the Lord Mayor to give instructions to the sheriff and officers of the city not to suffer any action to be proceeded against the said Wingfield, or his securities."

In 1588, he appears to have been in the Low Countries, for among the State Papers under date of the 5th of September, friends in England, petition that Edward Wingfield and Ferdinand Gorges, prisoners at Lisle, and others, might be exchanged for the Spanish prisoners lately taken in naval conflicts by Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Walter Raleigh.

At the time that Wingfield embarked for Virginia, Gorges was Governor of Plymouth Castle and was anxious for the success of the expedition.

Wingfield was designated as President of the Council, but in September, 1607, owing to dissatisfaction with his administration was removed, and his fellow councillor John Ratcliffe, elected. In 1608, he returned to England.[1]

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[1] There are no traces of Wingfield's employment after his return to England. R. Beedham, Esq., of Ashfield House, Kimbolton, writes to me relative to the Wingfield family: "Their chief seat was the Castle in this parish, where I have lived all my life and in which I was born. Edward Maria Wingfield was the very man I believe, who sold the estate to Henry Montague, afterwards, Earl of Man-

Bartholomew Gosnold.

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold for honorable conduct, wide experience, and peaceful disposition would have been esteemed in any community, and formed a wide contrast to some of his associates. He was accompanied by his brother Anthony, and his nephew Anthony, but died in August of the year of his arrival.

John Smith.

The life of Captain John Smith as told by himself is stranger than fiction, and at variance with records. He was the elder son of George Smith, a farmer near Alford, in Lincolnshire, a poor and worthy tenant of Baron Willoughby, of Eresby, and Alice his wife. The baptismal register of the Church at Willoughby, shows

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chester, whose lineal descendant, the Duke of Manchester, is now owner."

Among the Manchester MSS., in her Majesty's Public Record Office, is a letter of Edward Maria dated February 21, 1641–2, in which asking for a troop in Ireland, where his father had served forty years before, he writes: "I confess I never knew wars but I doubt not my own industry and a willing mind to vanquish those inhuman and irreligious rebels, in time may make me worthy of that or the like honourable command."

On the 29th of January, 1646–7, an order of Parliament was issued, authorizing "the sale by Edward Maria Wingfield of Keston, in the county of Huntingdon, of so much of his estate as should produce £800 due upon a bond to Wolley Lee, of Thorpe, in the county of Surrey, Esquire, a delinquent since deceased."

that on the 6th of January, 1579–80 (O.S.), he received infant baptism. The father, George Smith, made his will on the 30th of March, which was on the 22d of April, 1596, proved. Alice his wife at this time was still living. By the will, his son John, was to receive seven acres of pasturage. By these records, it is evident that John was about seventeen years old when his father died.

Upon the first page of his "True Travels, Adventures and Observations," Smith writes: "His parents dying when he was about thirteen years of age, left him a competent means, which he not being capable to manage, little regarded; his mind being, even then, set upon brave adventures, sold his satchel, books, and all he had, intending, secretly, to get to sea, but that his father's death stayed him."

There is a confusion in this sentence hard to explain: First, his parents both dying when he was about thirteen years of age, and left with competent means; then, selling his books to go to sea, but stopped by his father's death, which he mentions in the beginning of the paragraph as having already taken place. His father made him and his younger brother, executors of his will, with another person as supervisor. At the age of fifteen, Smith asserts that he was bound an apprentice to Mr. Thomas Sendall of Lynn, from whom he ran away. He then attended "Mr. Perigrine Barty [Bertie] into France."

While Smith avoids dates, the Public Record Office at London, contains the following, dated Greenwich, June 26, 1599: "Licence to Peregrine Bertie, younger son of

Lord Willoughby[1] of Eresby, to travel for three years, with his tutor, two servants, two horses, and 60L in money." Smith was one of the two servants, and twenty years of age. Peregrine met his brother Robert, in France, and after travelling for several years both were at Padua, and here, Robert, on the 3d of July, 1603, writes to King James of England, who had been on the throne, but a few months, and congratulates him on his accession, thanks him for his "letters commending himself and brother to the Duke [of Tuscany] and begs permission to continue his travels, till his estate, which is left in hands of Trustees during his minority, had paid off sundry debts of his late father."

John Smith alludes to meeting in Italy with "his dear friends, the two Honourable Brethren, the Lord Willoughby and his Brother." It is possible that the two Berties had been in Austria and Hungary, and reached Padua by way of Vienna and Venice, their father in 1595, having been in the last city.

Smith's statement is, that he "was desirous to see more of the world, and trie his fortunes against the Turkes." Crossing over to France, after some wonderful adventures, he reached Marseilles, and there shipped for Italy. Being thrown overboard because he was an Englishman

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[1] Peregrine Bertie, the father, was in 1580, created Baron Willoughby of Eresby. In 1582, he was sent to Denmark, and 1587 commanded the English army, in the Low Countries. In 1589, he was sent with English troops to the aid of Henry the 4th of France. In 1595, he was at Venice. In 1598, Governor of Barwick, and in 1601, he died.

and a "Hugonoit," he was picked up by a friendly vessel, which carried him to Alexandria, in Egypt. From thence he went with the Captain to the coast of Italy. Reaching Leghorn, he travelled to Rome, saw "the Pope, Clement the Eighth, with many cardinalls creepe up the holy stayres, which they say are those our Saviour Christ went up to Pontius Pilate." "Having saluted Father Parsons that famous English Jesuite" and satisfied himself with Rome, he visited other Italian cities, and going eastward at length reached Gratz, in Stiria, where through a Baron Kisell of the Artillery, he entered the regiment of the Earl of Meldritch.

Smith's alleged Experiences in the Austrian Empire.

While Ferdinand the Archduke was besieging Canisia, the Duke de Mercurie (Mercœur) was before Alba Regalis, the Stuhl Weissenburg, of modern maps.

Smith writes that "after the losse of Caniza, the Turks with twentie thousand besieged the town of Olumpagh." The sentence is obscure. On the twenty-second of October, of A.D. 1600, Canisia surrendered to the Turks and immediately after, in the words of Knolles[1] the best

[1]The "*General Historie of the Turkes*," by Richard Knolles, sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, appeared in 1610, a work of great fairness and accuracy, was much commended a year after Smith's return from Virginia. It gives full details of the conflict at Stuhl Weissenburg, Canisia, and other points. A third edition was printed by Adam Islip, A.D. 1621, a copy of which is before the writer, a large folio of more than 1400 pages, with numerous well engraved portraits of Sigismund and others. Knolles,

authority we have on these events, the Turks "foraged the country without resistance."

The Siege of Olumpah.

The siege of Olumpah[1] by twenty thousand Turks, where Smith asserts, that he so distinguished himself as to be promoted to the captaincy of two hundred and fifty men under Voldo, Earl of Meldritch, Knolles though quite minute, in his details, does not even mention.

Alba Regalis Besieged.

The Duke de Mercurie led an army of Imperialists against the stronghold Alba Regalis.[2]

Knolles.	*Smith.*
"The Bassa upon promise of his life yielded, and was by the Duke [Mercœur] presently sent into the camp."	"The Bashaw * * * * Seeing most of his men slaine before him by the valiant Captain, Earle Meldritch, who took him prisoner with his owne hands, and with the hazard of himself saved him from the fury of other troops."

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on page 1136 writes that "God in his wisdom still tempereth the sweet with the sour. Smith, in Chapter VIII, writes that "the loss of the army so intermingled the sour with the sweets." One who reads Knolles gains the impression that the book was used in the preparation of Smith's Travels.

[1] There is an Alt Lendva or Ober Lindva on a tributary of the Muhr river west of Canisia, and Obel Limpach, north of Canisia, on the river Raab.

[2] Alba Regalis the burial place of fourteen Hungarian Kings

On the 4th of November, A.D., 1601, a division of Mercœur's army under Russworm arrived at Canisia, but the Earl Meldritch went according to Smith to Transylvania, where hearing of the death of Michael and the Duke de Mercœur, united with Sigismund, against George Basta, of the leader of the Imperialists.

Three Turk's Heads.

Meldritch is now represented as fighting against the Turks, and Smith gives a description of a siege of a Turkish stronghold in which Zachell Moyses was General of the Army, of which Knolles does not make the slightest mention. The Christians according to Smith occupied nearly a month in intrenching themselves, around the division of the Turks. Here "to delight the ladies who did long to see some court-like pastime" the Turkish Captain challenged the Christians to a single combat. By lot, Smith was selected and entering the list soon killed, and cut off the head of his Turkish opponent which was presented to Moyses. He then had a second encounter with the Turk Gonalgo and took his head. Then a third encounter with Bonny Mulgro, who lost his head, as the others.

After Smith had taken the three Turk's heads, Moyses brought the army to a point not far from Prince Sigismund's palace, the town of Abbe Julia or Karlsburg and here Smith alone relates that Sigismund recognized his valuable services, by giving him under his hand and seal a patent for a coat of arms containing three Turk's heads in a shield.

Duke Sigismund.

Knolles mentions that in 1602, the Duke Sigismund finding that he would not receive the aid promised by the Turks, thought it wise to resign in favor of George Basta the leader of the German Emperor's forces.

Zachell Moyses indignant at this step upon the part of his Prince, with a force of Turks, Tartans and Transylvanians attacked Basta, was defeated, and then fled to the Turks, near Temeswar. After this according to Smith, Meldritch fought under Basta.

Battle of Rotterton.

The people of Wallachia declaring for Radoll as their Governor, he obtained the assistance of Basta to hold his position against the Turks. The two armies met in the valley of Veristborne between the Aluta River, and Rotterton[1] mountain and there was, writes Knolles, "a most terrible and bloody battell the glorie whereof fell unto Raddoll."

Here on the 18th of November, 1602, Smith declares he was taken prisoner by Lord Bashaw, of Cambria a country of Tartania, and bought by Bogall, was sent to his fair mistress at Constantinople for a slave. Having compassion on him the mistress sent him to her brother the Bashaw of Nalbrits. Here to his disappointment he was most cruelly treated, he therefore one day beat out the Bashaw's brains with his threshing bat, and fled. During

[1] Rotterton is the Rother-thurmus Pass of modern maps.

his wanderings he was everywhere well treated, and in time reached Hermanstadt, in Transylvania, where he was "glutted with content, and near drowned with joy." From thence he went to Prague, in Bohemia, and found Prince Sigismund and his Colonel at Lipswick, in Misenland where on the 9th of December, 1603, for the second time he received a patent of arms from Sigismund, the coat embracing three Turks' heads.

We will probably never know why nearly twenty-two years elapsed before Smith had these arms registered in the office of the Herald of Arms at London, but in this connection it will not be out of place to give an extract from the *De Republica Anglorum*, written by Sir Thomas Smith, the learned Secretary of Queen Elizabeth. "As for gentlemen they be made good cheape in England. * * * * * * A King of Heraulds shal also giue him for mony, armes newly made and inuented, the title whereof shall pretende to haue been found by the said Herauld in perusing and viewing of olde registers. * * * * Or if he will do it more truely and of better faith, he will write that for the merrites of that man and certain qualities which he doth see in him, and for sundrie noble actes which he hath performed, he, by the authoritie, which he hath as King of Heraldes and armes giveth to him and his heirs these armes."

It is not surprising that one so fond of adventure should apply to go to Virginia, and that the following letter, ascribed to him should have been written:

"I have given to understand ther ys a voyage for the South parttss, yff it be so that you thinke good of yt, and

that yt may be to evrye good purpos, I praye to have your furdorans in yt. And yt be that you dealle in the said vyage, I ame att your Worship's commandmentt, otherwyse nott, nott without your consentt. I wolde [letter here destroyed by fire] one vyage———into the North parts. I wolde knowne your pleasure herein, and that knowne I wylle make my———as you will assyne me. Your Worship shall have me in Plemouthe, this the———. God preserve you. From Brystowe, the last of November.

Your Obeydent,

——— SMYTHE.[1]

[1] The names indicated by the blanks, have been destroyed by the fire, which in 1731, occurred at Ashburnham House where the manuscripts of Cotton were then kept. The letter is endorsed as that of Captain John Smith, and is still preserved among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum. As Dr. Symonds of Oxford, in 1612, assisted Smith in the preparation of his first work printed after his return from Virginia, Cotton and other literary men may have prepared those sentences in "The True Travels" A.D. 1630, which indicate an acquaintance with classical literature, and an extensive reading. In the dedication of this book to the Earls of Pembroke, Lindsey and Dover, Smith begins in these words: "Sir Robert Cotton, that most learned treasurer of antiquity, having by perusal of my General History, and others, found that I likewise had undergone divers other as hard hazards and other parts of the world requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by itselfe whose noble desire I would but in part satisfy, the rather because they have acted my fatal Tragedies upon the stage, and racked my Relations at their pleasure. To prevent therefore all future misprisions, I have compiled this true discourse. Envie hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little; but that such should know how little I esteeme them I have writ this, more for the satisfaction of my friends, and all generous and well disposed Readers."

Accustomed to a life of viscisitudes and full of energy, Smith was popular with the colonists, a majority of them of the baser sort, and on the 10th of September, 1608, at their request he was elected President of the Council, but the next year was sent to England to answer for some misdemeanors.[1]

John Ratcliffe.

John Ratcliffe was one of whom little is known. His real name was said to have been Sicklemore. He succeeded Wingfield as President of the Council, but in September, 1608, was succeeded by Smith, and returned to England, but in July, 1609, came back in one of the ships of the fleet of Sir Thomas Gates, and in 1610 was slain by the Indians.

John Martin.

John Martin had influence with the London Company, and appears as an adventurer to the amount of seventy pounds sterling. He was a brother-in-law of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, and remained a prominent citizen of Virginia until the dissolution of the Company. Among the Cæsar MSS. in the British Museum is one catalogued "Proposals of Thomas [John] Martin" dated December 9, 1622, "respecting the question between the Virginia Company and himself," and there is also a letter of his from Virginia, March 8, 1626, to Sir Julius Cæsar. While he was grasping and arbitrary in disposition, he was the only one of the first colonists who maintained a

[1] *History of Virginia Company*, p. 32.

prominent position both in Virginia and England for nearly the quarter of a century. As late as December 19, 1623, the Privy Council of England, in a letter to the Governor and Company of Virginia, refers to "Capt. John Martin, a planter of Virginia having been detained a good while in England, by reason of controversies concerning that plantation who is now returning with some of his servants," and recomended that "more than ordinary respect should be had of him."

George Kendall.

George Kendall the last of the first designated councillors was deposed, and upon the testimony of one Read a blacksmith, while at the gallows, he was arrested, tried, and hung for an alleged conspiracy. There is no direct mention of his antecedents. He may be the young Scotchman who had been educated at Westminster School, and for seven years served in the wars of the Low Countries, who petitioned in his poverty for employment, and was sent by Sir Robert Cecil as his servant to Paris. In January, 1601–2, this George Kendall was "a prisoner in the Chelsea."

Colonists of A.D. 1607.

George Percy, the youngest brother of the ninth Earl of Northumberland, was not only of the most distinguished parentage, but one of the first who landed at James-Town, and he will be noticed in another chapter.

Among the colonists who arrived in May, 1607, was Andrew Buckler, of Wyke Regis. His name does not

appear in the list of colonists but Smith in the seventh chapter of the book of his adventures, writes "And where Newport durst not go with less than one hundred and twenty, he only took with him Captain Waldo, *Mr. Andrew Buckler*, Edward Brinton, and Samuel Collier." Buckler did not remain long in Virginia, and among the documents in the Public Record Office, London, there is a paper relative to certain patents which he had inherited, in which he mentions that he intends marriage.

The only residents in Virginia, who landed in 1607, the time of the dissolution of the London Company, were John Dods, William Garret (Jarrett) and John Laydon.

Dods in the list of passengers given by Smith is called a laborer, and was about eighteen years of age when he landed from the ship Susan Constant. In January, 1625, he was living at Charles City, and Jane, his wife, was four years older. He planted one hundred and fifty acres of land, opposite James City, which he obtained by patents, and had fifty within the corporation of James City.[1]

William Garret in the list a bricklayer, in the manuscript transactions of the Virginia Company of London, for April, 1620, is called "William Jarratt, an ancient inhabitant for thirteen years;" he had a patent for two hundred acres in the "Weyonoke" district.

John Laydon, when he came in the "Susan Constant" was twenty six years of age and was registered as a laborer. His wife Ann came in the "Mary Margaret" which arrived in the fall of 1608, and was then thirteen

[1] Hotten.

years old. In January, 1625, four daughters were living. He resided at Elizabeth City.[1]

Among the experienced mariners on the ships which brought the colonists, were Robert Tyndall, Francis Nelson and Matthew Fytch (Fitch).

Robert Tyndall (Tindall) is alluded to by Birch in his life of Prince Henry, in these words "Mr. Robert Tindall the Princes' Gunner being employed by the Virginia Company, established in 1606, by his Majesty's letters patent in a voyage to the country in a fleet commanded by Captain Christopher Newport" arrived in Virginia in May, 1607, and "thought it his duty to send to his Highness, a journal of that voyage,[2] and a draught of James River, with a letter dated at James Town, the 22 of June, 1607."

Francis Nelson, called by Smith "an honest man and expert mariner" returned to Virginia, Captain of the "Phœnix," and the next year was Master of the "Falcon" of the Gates fleet. In the same fleet, Matthew Fitch was Master of a "Catch."

PASSENGERS OF THE "JOHN AND FRANCIS."

In the "John and Francis," Captain Newport arrived the second time, in January, 1607–8, in Virginia.

Michael Scrivener was the person of most importance among the passengers, having subscribed £100 as an adventurer of the Company, and was appointed by them

[1] Hotten.

[2] May not the Journal of Newport Discoveries published for the first time A. D. 1860, in Vol. IV. Coll. of American Antiquarian Society, pp. 40–65, have been written by Tindall?

to be of the Council in Virginia. In Smith's *True Travels* he is mentioned as "a very wise understanding gentleman."

Thomas Savage came in this vessel and was then a boy. He was given unto Powhatan as a hostage for Namontack, a young Indian, who Captain Newport took with him to England. Eventually he settled upon the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, at a point still known as Savage's Neck, and was considered a valuable interpreter. John Pory mentions that he served the public without recompense, and in the discharge of duty an Indian arrow was shot through his body. He was married to Ann or Hannah whose family name is not given,[1] but in the muster of January, 1624–5, she is mentioned as coming over in 1621, in the ship "Sea Flower." He died before 1627, and his only son John, was born in 1624, and was a Magistrate of the Colony, and a member of the House of Burgesses.

Passengers of "Mary Margaret."

In September, 1608, Captain Newport, in the ship "Mary Margaret" arrived for the third time in Virginia,

[1] Thomas Savage died before his wife. In the Virginia Land Records at Richmond, Book No. 1, p. 59, "Hannah Savadge widow of Thomas Savadge, gent" has 50 acres "on the Eastern shoare within the p'cinct of the plantacon of Accomacke on the consideration of the annual payment of foure shillings at the feast of S't. Michael the Archangel, Nov. 27, 1627." The widow became the wife of Daniel Cugley, who in the ship "London Merchant" in 1620, came to Virginia, and in 1627, was about thirty-five years of age.

bringing with him as members of the Council, Captain Peter Winne and Captain Richard Waldo, "ancient soldiers and valiant gentlemen."

By this ship Captain John Smith mentions that Scrivener "received letters from England to make himself, either Cæsar, or nothing."

Among the passengers living January, 1624–5, were Anne Burras (Burroughs), a maid who came over with the wife of Thomas Forrest, and married John Laydon; David Ellis at James Town, who had married an immigrant named Margaret; Richard Taylor at Charles City who, in 1608, was thirty-four years of age. He married one of the maidens named Dorothy, who at the age of seventeen in May, 1620, had arrived in the "London Merchant."

Captain Francis Nelson who left England in charge of the ship "Phœnix," at the same time as Captain Newport, was separated by a storm, and did not reach James Town until the spring of 1608. Of the passengers that came with him but one was living, in January, 1624–5, named Nathaniel Causey. He married a maiden whose christian name was Thomasine, who came out in 1609, in the "Lion" one of the fleet of Sir Thomas Gates. His residence was at Jordan's Journey, of the Charles City district, and he had a patent for two hundred acres.

CHAPTER III.

VIRGINIA AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND, A.D. 1607–1608.

LETTER OF NEWPORT. FIRST REPORT OF COUNCIL IN VIRGINIA. REASONS FOR A PUBLIC STOCK. NOTICE OF THE KING'S COUNCIL FOR VIRGINIA IN ENGLAND. EARLY PUBLICATION.

AFTER a speedy voyage of thirty-seven days, Captain Newport anchored on the 29th of July, 1607, in Plymouth Sound, and immediately wrote to Lord Salisbury.

Right Ho^ble.

My verie good Lo. my duty in most humble wise remembered, it may please y^or good L^o'p I arrived here in the Sound of Plimouth, this daie, from the discourie of that parte of Virginia, imposed uppon me, and the rest of the Colonie for the South parte, in w^ch wee haue performed o^r duties to the uttermost of o^r powers. And haue discoueried into the country near two hundred miles, and a River nauigable for great Shippes one hundred and fifty miles. The contrie is excellent and very rich in gold and copper, of the gould we haue brought a Say and hope to be w^th y^r Lo'^pp shortlie, to show it his Ma^ty and the rest of the Lords. I will not deliuer the expectaunce and

assurance we haue of great wealth, but will leaue it y^or^ Lo^p's^ censure when you see the probabilities. I wish I might haue come in person to haue brought this glad tidings, but my inability of body, and the not having any man to putt in trust with the shippe, and that in her, maketh me to deferre my coming 'till wind and weather be fauourable. And so I most humbly take my leaue. From Plimouth, this 29th of Julie, 1607.

Your L^p's^ most humbly bounden,
CHRISTOPHER NEWPORTE.

He brought with him the first official report of the Council in Virginia to the Council of Virginia in England.

FIRST REPORT OF COUNCIL IN VIRGINIA.

Wee acknowledge ourselues accomptable for o^r^ time here spente, were it but to giue you satisfaccon of o^r^ industries and affeccons to this moste Ho^ble^ accon, and the better to quicken those good spirrits w^ch^ haue alreadie bestowed themselues heere, and to put life into such dead understandings or beleefs that must first see and feele the wombe of o^r^ labour, and this land before they will entertaine anie good hope of vs or of the land.

W^th^ in less then seauen weekes, wee are fortified well against the Indians, we haue sowen good store of wheate, wee haue sent you a taste of Clappboord, wee haue built some houses, wee haue spared some hands to a discouerie, and still as God shall enhable us w^th^ strength we will better and better our proceedings.

Our easiest and richest commodity being Sassafrax rootes were gathered upp by the Sailors w^th^ losse and spoile of manie of our tools,[1] and w^th^ drawing of o^r^ men from our labour, to these vses againste our knowledge to our preiudice, wee earnestly entreat you (and doe truste) that you take such order as wee be not in this thus defrauded, since they be all our waged men, yet doe wee wishe that they be reasonable dealt w^th^ all, so as all the losse, neither fall on vs, nor them. I beleeue they haue thereof two tonnes at the leaste w^ch^ if they scatter abroad at their pleasure, will pull down our price for a long time, this wee leaue to your wisdomes. The land would fflowe w^th^ milke and honey if so seconded by y^or^ carefull wisedomes, and bountifull hands, wee doe not persuade to that one Assume to seeke another, but to finde them both. And wee doubt not but to send them home w^th^ goulden heads, at leaste our desires, laboures, and lives shall to that engage themselves.

Wee are sett downe 80 miles w^th^ in a River, for breadth, sweetness of water, length navigable upp into the country, deepe and bold channell so stored w^th^ Sturgion and other sweet Fishe as no mans fortune hath ever possessed the like. And as wee thincke if more sway be wished in a River it will be founde. The soile is most fruittefull laden w^th^ good Oake, Ashe, Wallnut tree, Popler, Pine, sweet woodes, Cedar, and others yett w^th^ out names that yeald gumes pleasant as Frankumcense, and experienced amongest vs for greate vertewe in healing greene woundes and aches, wee entreat your succours for o^r^ seconds w^th^ all

[1] Were the Sassafrass roots the alleged gold-dirt of John Smith?

expedition least that all devouringe Spaniard lay his ravenous hands uppon these gold showing mountains, w^{ch} if it be so enhabled he shall neuer dare to thinck one.

This noate doth make known where o^{r} necessities do moste strik vs, we beseech y^{or} present releiffe accordinglie otherwise to o^{r} greatest and last griefes, wee shall against our willes, not will that w^{ch} wee most willingly would.

Captain Newport hath seene all and knoweth all, he can fully satisfie your further expectations, and ease you of untedious letters, wee most humbly praie the heauenly King's hand to bless o^{r} labours, wth such consuiles and helpes as we may further and stronger proceede in this King's and countries service.

Jamestowne in Virginia, this 22th of June, A^{no} 1607.

Your poore Friends,

EDWARD MARIA WINGFIELD, BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD,
JOHN SMITH, JOHN RATCLIFFE,
JOHN MARTINE, GEORGE KENDALL.

After remaining a few months in England, Newport sailed again, in company with another ship under Captain Nelson and arrived in the evening of the 8th of January, 1607–8, at Jamestown, with supplies and passengers. It had become evident from his report while in England, that if a successful colony was planted, it must be looked upon as a public enterprise, and not as the movement of a few noblemen and merchants for personal gain.

About the time that Newport was entering Chesapeake Bay upon second voyage to Virginia, on the 5th of January,

1607–8, the following paper to move Parliament to raise a stock for the maintaining of a Colony in Virginia was prepared. It is an able document, and worthy of preservation. It has been copied from the original among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. The signature is T. and a surname hard to read, perhaps Ellesmere, then Lord Chancellor, and a member of the Privy Council.

Reasons or Motives for the raising of a publique stock to be employed for the peopling and discovering of such Countries as may be found most convenient for the supply of those defects which this Realme of England most requireth.

1. All Kingdoms are maintained by rentes or traffique, but especially by the latter which in maritime places most florisheth by means of Navigation.

2. The Realme of England is an Islande impossible to be otherwise fortifyed than by strong shipps and able mariners, and is secluded from all comers, with those of the maine continent, therefore fit abundance of vessels be prepared to export and import merchandize.

3. The furniture of shipping consists in Masts, cordage, pich, tar, Rossen, ye of which England is by nature unprovided, and at this point enjoyeth them only by the favor of forraigne patents.

4. The life of shipping resteth in number of able mariners, and of worthy chieftaines which cannot be mantained without assurance of rewarde, of honourable

meanes to be employed and sufficient second of their adventures.

5. Private purses are cowld compfortes to adventurers, and have ever been founde fatall to all enterprices hitherto undertaken by the English, by reason of delaies, jelocies, and unwillingness to backe that project which succeeds not at the first attempt.

6. The example of Hollinders is verie pregnant, by a maine backe or stocke, have affected marvously, matters in traffique and navigacon in five years.

7. It is honorable for a State rather to backe an exploite by publique consent, than by a private monoply.

8. Where Collonies are founded for a publique well may continewe in better obedience, and become more industrious, then where private men are absolute signers of a voiage, forasmuch as better men of havier and qualitie will engage themselves in a publique service which carieth more reputacon with it, than a private, which is for the most part ignominious in the end, as being presumed to ayme at a lucre, and is subject to emulacon, fraude and envie, and when it is at the greatest hight of fortune can hardly be tolerated by reason of the jelosie of State.

9. The manifest decaye of shipping and mariners, and of manie Borow and Porte townes hauens cannot be released by private increase, nor amended otherwise than by a voluntary consent of manie purces of the well [weal?] publique.

10. It is publicly knowne that traffique with our neighbor Countries begins to be of small request, the

gaine seldom answering the merchantes adventure, and forraigne States either are already, or at this present are preparing to enrich themselves with woole and cloth of their owne, which heretofore they borrowed of us which purpose of theirs being achieved in Fraunce, and it hath been already in Spaigne and Italy, therefore we must of necessity we must foregoe our great showing if wee doo not wish [to] prepare a place fit for the vent of our wares, and so fit our mariners on worke who dayly run to serve foraigne nacons for wante of employment, and cannot be restrained by anie lawe, when necessatie enforseth them to serve, and hire of a stranger, rather than to serve at home.

11. That Realme is most compleet and wealthie which either hath sufficient to serve itselfe or can finde the meanes to exporte of the naturall comodity when it hath occasion necessarily to importe, consequently it must inforce that by a publique consent, a Collony transported into a good and plentiful climate able to furnish our wants, our meines, and wares that nowe run into the handes of our adversaries, or cowld [cold?] frendse, shall pass unto our frendse and natural kinsmen, and from them likewise we shall receive such things as shall be most available to our necessaties, rich intercourse of trade may rather be called a home bread trafique than a forraigne exchange.

12. Forraigne nacons yearly attempt discoveries in strange coasts moved thereto by the jelosie of State which effecteth that gaine, most which is gotten either without anie trick of their neighbours or at least by smallest advantage that may turne unto them by their traffiqe.

13. Experience teacheth us that it is dangerous to our State to enterprise a discovery, and not to proceed therein, even to the verie sifting, it to the uttermost, for not only disreputacon groweth thereby, disability, and power weake to proceed or bowraiing our owne Idelness, and want of Counsell to manage our enterprise, as if, the glorious State of ours rather brocked by the vertue of our ancestors, than of our owne worthines.

14. The want of our fresh and present supplie of our discoveries hath in manner broken away the title which the Lawe of nacons giveth us, unto the coast first found out by our industrie, forasmuch as whatsoever a man relinquisheth may be claymed by the next finder, as his just property, neither is it sufficient to set foot in a Countrie, but to possess and hould it, in defence of an invading force (for want whereof) the king of Denmark intendeth into the north-west passage (as it is reported) and it is also reported that the french intends to inhabit Virginia which they may easily achieve, if their second prove strong, and ours languishe for want of sufficient and tymely supplie which cannot be had but by the meanes of multitude contributory.

The circumstances necessarily to backe a Collony, sent out are these.

1. A reputacon and opinion of the interprice.

2. A compotent some of monie raised aforehande to supplie all accidentes that distrust; hereby maye be wrought in forraigne States to attempt anie thing that

in prejudice of our Collonies because they may be well assured that where there is not a publique purse, and cōmon consent to proseceut an accion, it is but botlesse to hope of advantage to be gotten without revenge.

3. As fewe are most apt to make a Conquest so are publique weales fitter to hould what is gotten, and skilfuller by industrie to enrich it.

4. It is probable that if the whole State be engaged in these adventures it will be no harde matter when aparant grownde of profit is laid, to persuade every County according to the proportion of bigness and abilitie to builde barkes and shippes of a compotent size and to maintaine them, when gentlemans' youngest sons, and other men of qualitie maye be imployed.

5. Also it imported much that no man be suffered to venture more than he may be deamed able to spare out of his owne supfluity, or if he go in person, he would idely spend at home; lest such men entering into a rage of repentance, and thereby discourage others, and scandilize the enterprize.

The monie to be raised to the use and purposes aforesaid.

1. Ought not to be levied of those things which may hinder the cōmen wealth to enjoye the necessaries of victualle and apparell, but shall rather advance them to the needy.

2. It shall not be raised without moderacon and ease to the payer, neither shall anie thinge be demanded from anie man without presente aparance of gaine and hope of further profit.

3. It shall not be raised upon the sweat of the poore, or industrie of the husbandman, artificer, or tradesman.

4. It is not so to be levied to a private intent.

But it is to be raised

1. Upon the emoderate gaines of those that contrary to lawe abuse the poore, but in such sorte that the payer shall for every ijd paid gaine iijd.

2. That they upon whome the maine chardge of payment shall lye maye [be] greater gainers than the merchant adventurer.

3. That the whole State shall be interested in the benefit of it.

4. That the superflous waste maye be avoyded of which the poore most want.

5. The merchandise increasing thereby: the Realme shall be enriched yearly manie thowsande poundes, and the King's imposts and customes increased.

6. That at the least CC [two hundred] thowsande poundes yearly maybe saved in the Realme which nowe is consumed, to the displeasure of God, and hurte of the people.

Also it is reason that the King's Ma^{tie} have as well, parte of the monie so raised either to adventure or otherwise dispose at his Highness good pleasure.

1. In respect, of his roiall assent to be given to an Act of Parliament enabling Commissionors to gather the monies aforesaid.

2. Priviledges and lysence to transport a Collonie, or Collonies, are to be obtained at the King's handes, neither

is it reason that his Highness' prerogative should be valued at nothinge.

3. That the Kings Ma^tie will be engaged in honor the rather to assist and protect the project.

4. It would savier too much of affectation of a popular State to levie without imparting some convenient porcon to his Ma^tie.

5. That porcon ought not to be so small that it should seame to undervalue the King's greatnes and favo^r.

5 Januarii, 1607 [O. S.].

A True Relation of Virginia.

On the 13th of August, 1608, John Tappe, printer, and William Welby, bookseller at the sign of the Grey Hound in Paul's church yard, entered at Stationers' Hall, a book called "A True Relation of Suche Occurrences and Accidentes of Note as Have Happened in Virginia Synce the First Planting of the Colonye, Which is nowe Resident in the South Parte of Virginia, till Master Nelson's Comminge Away from Thence."

It was published with the title slightly changed. In the place of *Master Nelson's comminge away*," were inserted the words "*laste returne.*

The earlier copies have on the title page "written by Thomas Watson Gent, one of the Collony." Some copies written simply "By a Gentleman," other copies "By Captaine Smith Coronell of the said Collony."[1]

[1] Mr. Charles Deane in the preface to "A True Relation of Virginia," published in 1876, by Wiggin and Leet, Boston, has given a full account of the variations in the title.

CHAPTER IV.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE COMPANY IN ENGLAND, A. D. 1608–1609. PUBLIC COLLECTIONS. CRAKANTHORPE'S SERMON. DISCOURSE OF SYMONDS AT WHITE CHAPEL. A GOOD SPEED TO VIRGINIA. SECOND CHARTER. KING'S COUNCILLORS FOR VIRGINIA. SERMON OF DANIEL PRICE. PUBLICATION OF NOVA BRITANNIA. GATES AND SOMERS EXPEDITION.

TOWARD the close of the year 1608, Captain Newport returned from his third voyage to Virginia, and the Company felt the necessity of enlisting the sympathy of the King, noblemen, statesmen, and prominent merchants of London. It was determined after careful deliberation, to send out, more ships with better supplies, and a larger number of Colonists, and Lord Delaware was elected Governor and Captain General. Books were printed and sermons preached at Paul's Cross, and other points, where a crowd would listen, calling the attention of the poorer people to the proposed expedition. The Council recommended that the corporation of London, the several wards, and livery Companies of the City should subscribe to the fund for fitting out a new expedition. The Iron Mongers advanced £150, and the Merchant Tailors near £600, and these with the

contributions of the different wards of the city amounted to £18.000 contributed for the support of the Colony.[1]

On the 24th of March, 1608–9, O. S., the anniversary of the accession of King James, Richard Crakanthorpe, a fellow of Queen's College Oxford, and an able theologian of Puritan tendencies, preached a sermon in the open air, at Paul's Cross and in these words alluded to the new expedition for Virginia: "Let the honourable expedition now intended for Virginia be a witness, enterprised, I say not, auspiciis, but by the most wise and religious direction and protection of our chiefest pilot [the King], seconded by so many honourable and worthy personages in the State and Kingdom, that it may justly give encouragement with alacrity and cheerfulness for some, to undertake; for others, to favour so noble, and so religious an attempt I may not stay, in this straightness of time, to mention, much less to set forth unto you, the great and manifold benefits which may redound to this our so populous a nation, by planting an English Colony in a territory as large and spacious almost as is England, and in a soil so rich, fertile, and fruitful as that; besides the sufficiency it naturally yields for itself, may with best convenience supply some of the greatest wants and necessities of these Kingdoms. But this happiness which I mention, is a happy and glorious work indeed of planting among those poor and savage, and to be pitied Virginians, not only humanity instead of brutish incivility, but religion also * * * This being the honourable and

[1] London "*Remembrancia*;" Herbert's *Livery Companies; Hist. of Virginia Company*, p. 25.

religious intendment of this enterprise, what glory! What honour to our Sovereign! What comfort to those subjects who shall be means of furthering of so happy a work, not only to see a New Britain in another world, but to have also those as yet heathen barbarians and brutish people, together with our English, to learn the speech and language of Canaan." Hakluyt, a few weeks later furnished for the Company a translation, called "Virginia richly valued," etc., which was published.[1]

As now, three hundred years ago a part of Aldgate, London, was an unsavory and poverty stricken district. Stow in his "*Survay of London*," printed A. D. 1603, writes of what was then, the suburb without Aldgate: "Both sides of the streete be pestered with cottages and allies even up to White Chappel church; and almost half a mile beyond it into the common field, all which ought to be open and free for all men. But this common field, I say, being sometime the beauty of this City in that part, is so incroached upon by building of filthy cottages, and with other purprestors[2], inclosures and lay-stelles[3], (that notwithstanding all Proclaimation and Acts of Parliament made to the contrary), that in some places it scarce remaineth a sufficient high way for the

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[1] *History of Virginia Company of London*, p. 26.

[2] Pourpresture, is properly "when a man taketh unto himself, or incroacheth anything that he ought not, whether it be in any jurisdiction, land or franchise."—*Cowel.*

[3] "If he will live abroad, with his companions,
In dung and leystalls, it is worth a feare."
—B. Jonson *Every Man in his Humour*, Act II, Se. 5.

meeting of carriages, and droues of cattell, much lesse is there any faire, pleasant or wholesome way for people to walk on foot; which is no small blemish, to so famous a city, to have so unsauery and unseemly an entry or passage thereto." In this district was the church of Saint Mary Matfellon, which had been in existence since the days of Richard the Second, and commonly called White Chapel. Here, on the 25th of April, 1609, Dr. William Symonds, the preacher at Saint Saviours[1] in Southwark, immediately beyond London Bridge, preached a sermon[2] before the "most noble and worthy advancers of the standard of Christ among the Gentiles, the adventurers for the plantation of Virginia."

The sermon was entered on May 8th, at Stationers' Hall and soon was published with the following title:

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[1] This Church is still standing, a fine specimen of early English architecture. Hare writes in his "Walks in London" "The Choir retains its beautiful altar screen erected by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, in 1528, and adorned with his device, the pelican."

In the tower are bells more than four hundred years old. Hare mentions that the word Matfellon, is of Syriac derivation.

[2] Extracts from this sermon are given, in Neill's *English Colonization of America*, Strahan & Co., London, 1871, pp. 29–31.

VIRGINIA.

A

SERMON PREACHED AT

WHITE-CHAPPEL, IN THE preſence of many, Honourable and Worſhipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for VIRGINIA.
25 April, 1609.

PVBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT

AND VSE OF THE COLONY, PLANTED, and to bee Planted there, and for the Aduancement of their CHRISTIAN Purpoſe.

By WILLIAM SYMONDS, Preacher at Saint SAVIORS in Southwicke.

IVDE. 22. 23.
Haue compaſſion of ſome, in putting of difference:
And other ſaue with feare, pulling them out of the fire.

LONDON:
Printed by I. WINDET for ELEAZAR EDGAR, and *William Welby*, and are to be ſold in Paules Churchyard at the Signe of the Windmill.
1609.

The first work on Virginia, printed in A. D. 1609, was entered May 3, 1609, at Stationers' Hall, by Robert Gray. It has an "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the Lords, Knights, Merchants and Gentlemen adventurers for the plantations of Virginia, which is subscribed R. G. and dated "From mine house at the north end of Sithe's Lane[1] April 28, Ano. 1609." It is a black letter quarto of fifteen leaves, with this title:

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[1] Sithe's Lane, contraction of Saint Swithen in Cordwainer Street Ward. Old Stow in 1603, writes "On the north side of High street in Bridge Row by the east end of St. Anthonies Church have ye S. Sithe's Lane, so called of S. Sithe's Church, which standeth against the north end of that lane."

A

GOOD SPEED

to Virginia.

ESAY 42.4.

He shall not faile nor be diſcouraged till he have ſet judgement in the earth, and the Iles ſhall wait for his law.

LONDON:
Printed by FELIX KYNGSTON for *William Welbie*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne of the Greyhound in Pauls Church yard. 1609.

The Second Charter.

Preliminary to the issue of a Second Charter to the London Company, the following order was given on the 9th of May, 1609. The spelling of the original is retained as copied from the Harleian MS.

"After our hastie commendacons, whereas divers honourable personnages, Knightes and others have undertaken to settle a Collonie or Plantation in Virginia as well for the Publishinge of a Chᵗrian faith among those barbaraus nations, as for the enlargement of his Maᵗᶦᵉˢ dominions, and for their better encouragement in so honorable an action are to have a grant of that Countrie by his Majesties letters pattente with which the names of the principalle Adventurers are particularly to be inserted, forasmuch as it is not unlikely but that the Lords Knights and Doctores as well of dignitie, as of lawe and Phisick might conceave dislike and displeasure if they should not be so placed, marshalled as there severall worths and degrees do require, We have thought good to let you know that our desire is that you call with you the Colledge of Herauldes, or so many of them as you shall thinke fit, and by their advise you marshall and sett in order the names of such noble men, Knightes, and doctores, as you shall receave herewith in there due places and ranke and send them unto us fayre written on paper, with your hande and names subscribed, with as much

expedience as you can, and these shall be your warrants in that behalfe, from the Court this 9th of May, 1609.

Your loving friends,

H. WORCESTER.[1]

H. NORTHAMPTON.[2]

T. SUFFOLK.[3]

To the Colledge of Heraulds.

The Royal Arms was here appended.

The Second Charter for the first Colony in Virginia, dated May 23, 1609, mentions that it was an enlarge-

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[1] Earl of Worcester, was Master of the Horse, and in 1616, keeper of the Privy Seal. Thomas Somerset his second son, in 1604, made Knight of the Bath.

[2] Lord Henry Howard, younger brother of the beheaded Duke of Norfolk, on March 13, 1607, was made Earl of Northampton. His house begun in 1603, at Charing Cross has been pulled down within a few years. Its architect was Inigo Jones. Northampton was keeper of the Privy Seal, and in 1614, Lord Treasurer. He bequeathed his elegant house to his nephew Earl of Suffolk.

[3] Thomas Howard Baron Waulden, younger son of Duke of Norfolk, in 1603, was made Earl of Suffolk. After his uncle's death, he lived at Charing Cross and Northampton House was known as Suffolk House. In 1614, he was made Lord Treasurer, but in time he was accused of malfeasance. Baker mildly writes "This Lord though of a most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up, another way, seemed less ready in discharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Lady's taking too much upon her, by his indulgence, the Staff was soon after taken from him." He died in 1626. His grandchild Elizabeth married Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland, and then the house became known as Northumberland House, and so continued until it was taken down.

ment of that of 1606, with the design of allowing "such counsellors and other officers as may be appointed amongst them to manage and direct their affairs, as are willing to adventure with them, as also whose dwellings are not so far remote from the City of London, but that they may at convenient times be ready at hand to give them advice and assistance."

The Company was to be known by the corporate name of *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia.*

Under the First Charter, they were allowed to begin their Plantation between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degree of north latitude, and to possess all the region following the coast fifty miles north, and fifty miles south of the Plantation; with all the islands within one hundred miles, and into the main land they were allowed one hundred miles. But by the Second Charter they were allowed two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Point Comfort, now Fortress Monroe.

The last article has this language "And lastly because the principal effect which we can desire or expect of this action is the conversion and reduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and Christian Religion, in which respect we should be loath that any person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the Church of Rome: We do hereby declare, that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage from time to time to be made into the same country but such as first, shall have taken the Oath of Supremacy."

The Charter designated Sir Thomas Smith as the first Treasurer or Governor, but provided that in the event of his removal or death, his successor should be elected "by the voice of the greater part of such Company." It also provided that the Council of the Company should elect a Deputy Treasurer to act in the absence or in the sickness of the Treasurer.

Discourse of Rev. Daniel Price, A. M.

A few days after the amended Charter was signed another discourse was delivered on Rogation Sunday, the 28th of May, at Paul's Cross by Daniel Price, Chaplain in ordinary to Prince Henry, and Master of Arts of Exeter College, Oxford. The text was Acts 9 ch., 4 v., "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me."

The sermon was eloquent, but lacking in the simplicity which characterized that of Symonds, at White Chapel. Full of quotations from the Greek and Latin language, abounding in labored and quaint antitheses, it was better suited for the hall of a College, than a street sermon. The listener must have been impressed with its tartness, and felt that the preacher's tongue was like a sharp sword. It was not at all a gospel of light and sweetness. The conclusion, was denunciatory of several classes of persons especially those who did "traduce the honourable Plantation of Virginia."

"If there be any that have opposed any action intended to the glory of God, and saving of souls, and have stayed the happy proceeding in any such motive, let him know that he is a persecutor and an adversary of Christ.

"In which Quœre give me leave to examine the lying speeches that have injuriously vilified and traduced a great part of the glory of God, the honour of our Land, joy of our Nation and expectation of many wise, and noble Senators of this kingdom, I mean in the *Plantation of Virginia.* When the descry of the Indians was offered to that learned and famous Prince Henry, the Seventh, some idle, dull and unworthy sceptikes moved the King not to entertain the motion. We know our loss, by the Spaniard's gain, but now the souls of those dreamers do seem by a Pithagoricall transmigration to be come into some of those scandalous, and slanderous detractors of that most noble voyage.

"Surely if the prayers of all good Christians prevail, the expectation of the wisest and noblest, the knowledge of the most experimented, and learnedest, the relation of the best traveled and observant be true, it is like to be the most worthy voyage that ever was effected, by any Christian in descrying any country of the World, both for the peace of the entry, for the plenty of the country, and for the climate. Seeing that the Country is not unlike to equalize (though not India for gold, which is not impossible yet), Tyrus for colours, Basan for woods, Persia for oils, Arabia for spices, Spain for silks, Narsis for shipping, Netherliands for fish, Bonoma for fruit, and by tillage, Babylon for corn, besides the abundance of mulberries, minerals, rubies, pearls, gems, grapes, deer, fowl, drugs for physic, herbs for food, roots for colours, ashes for soap, timber for building, pastures for feeding, rivers for fishing, and whatsoever commodity England wanteth. The philosopher commendeth the temperature; the politician the

opportunity; the divine, the piety in converting so many thousand souls. The Virginian desireth it, and the Spaniard envieth us, and yet our own lazy, drowsy, yet barking countrymen traduce it, who should honour it, if it was but for the rememberance of that Virgin Queen of eternal memory, who was first Godmother to that land and nation. As also that Virgin country may in time prove to us, the farm of Britain, as Sicily was to Rome, or the garden of the World as was Thessaly, or the argosie of the World as is Germany.

"And besides the future expectation, the present encouragement is exceeding much, in that, it is a voyage countenanced by our gracious King, consulted on by the oracles of the Council, adventured in by our wisest and greatest Nobles, and undertaken by so worthy, so honourable and religious a Lord, and furthered not only by many other parties of this Land, both clergy and laity, but also, by the willing liberal contribution of this Honourable City, and as that thrice worthy Dean of Glocester[1] not long since remembered his Majesty and Nobles, that it is a voyage wherein every Christian ought to set to his helping hand, seeing the Angel of Virginia crieth to this Land, as the Angel of Macedonia did to Paul, O! come and help us. There is a fearful woe denounced against those that came not to assist Deborah. Whosoever they be that purposely withstand or confront this most Christian, most honorable voyage, let him read that, and fear. Hath God called this Land *Ad summum munus Apostolicum*, to that great work of apostleship, that whereas, this

[1] Morton.

was one of the first parts of Christendom that received the Gospel, so now, it is the first part that ever planted and watered the Gospel in so great, fair, fruitful a country, nor shall skeptical humorists be a means to keep such an honor from us, such a blessing from them? No, my Beloved, to the present assurance of great profit, and this future profit, that whosoever hath a hand in this business, shall receive an unspeakable blessing, for they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever. You will make Plutarch's *πονηροπολις* Athenocus *ουρανοπολις*, a savage country to become a sanctified country; you will obtain the saving of their souls, you will enlarge the bounds of this Kingdom, nay the bounds of Heaven, and all the angels that behold this if they rejoice so much at the conversion of one sinner, O! what will their joy be at the conversion of so many.

"Go on as you have begun, and the Lord shall be with you; go, and possess the Land, it is a good land, a land flowing with milk and honey, God shall bless you, and those ends of the World shall honor him.

"I will end with one word of exhortation to this City; many excellent things are spoken of this as sometimes, of the City of God. Hither the Tribes came, even the Tribes of the Lord, herein, is the seat of judgment, even the seat of the house of David. Peace be within thy walls, plenteousness within thy palaces.

"You remember how manifold infections hence, as from a fountain, issued out; all the tricks of deceiving, the divers lusts of filthy living, the pride of attire, the cause of oppression, gluttony in eating, surfeit in drinking, and

the general disease of the fashions. * * * * It should be Jerusalem the City of God, and it is become Murder's slaughter-house, Theft's refuge, Oppressor's safety, Whoredom's stewes, Usury's bank, Vanity's stage, abounding in all kind of filthiness and profaneness. O! remember that sins have been the pioneers of the greatest cities, and have not left one stone upon another.

My Honourable L. Mayor, I need not to remember you in this behalf—The last Sabbath[1] you received a letter though not from the Cross, yet from the Crown by our Royal Ecclesiastes, practice that lesson both concerning the infection of the body, and the infection of the soul of the city."[2]

The sermon was published with the following title:

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[1] A marginal note reads "His Majesty's speech the 21st of May, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Greenwich."

[2] Daniel Price, the son of Thomas, Vicar of Shrewsbury, was born A. D. 1578. In 1594, he entered college. He was Rector of Worthy's near Caus Castle, Shropshire. In 1613 published Sermons on the death of Prince Henry. In 1625 he became Dean of Hereford. In 1631 was buried in the chancel of the church of Worthys. His younger brother Sampson, became chaplain to James First and Charles First, and Vicar of Christ Church, London.

SAVLES PROHIBITION STAIDE:

OR

THE APPREHENSION, AND EXAMINATION OF SAVLE.

And to the Inditement of all that persecute Christ with a reproofe of those that traduce the Honourable Plantation of Virginia.

Preached in a Sermon Commanded at Paule Crosse, vpon Rogation Sunday, being the 28th of May, 1609.

By DANIEL PRICE, Chaplaine in ordinarie to the Prince, and Master of Artes of Exeter Colledge in Oxford.

LONDON

Printed for MATTHEW LAW, and are to be sold in Pauls Church yard, neere unto Saint Austines Gate at the Signe of the Foxe. 1609.

After the Charter of 1609, was granted, a book was issued with this title :

NOVA BRITANNIA.

OFFRING MOST

Excellent fruites by Planting in VIRGINIA.

Exciting all ſuch as be well affected to further the ſame.

LONDON
Printed for SAMVEL MACHAM, and are to be ſold at his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Bul-head.
1609.

The work is an earnest plea for what the writer calls an "earthly Paradice." He mentions that "they have plank, and lumber for shipping, with deal and wainscot, pipe staves and clap-board and soap ashes and may have iron and copper." In this early publication of the Company it is noticeable that not one word is said upon gold mines, which Capt. John Smith declares, *chiefly* occupied the attention of the members.

The writer pleads for colonists in these words: "We need not doubt our land is breeding with swarms of idle persons which having no means of labor to relieve their misery, do likewise in lewd and naughty practices so that if we seek not some foreign employment for them, we must shortly provide more prisons and corrections for their bad condition, for it fares with populous common weales, as with plants and trees that be too frolic, which not able to sustain and feed their multitude of branches do admit of Engrafting of their buds and scions into some other soil, accounting it a benefit, for preservation of this kind and a disburdening of the stock of those superfluous twigs that suck away their nourishment.[1] * * * * Yet I do not mean that none but such unsound members, and such poor as want their bread are fittest for this employ-

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[1] Hugh Lee residing in Lisbon under date of March $\frac{18}{28}$, 1609, writes to Thomas Wilson, in London, that five ships had sailed for the East Indies "carrying in the place of soldiers, children and youth from the age of ten, and upwards, to the number of 1500; in a few years they say these children will be able to do good service." He adds that "he thinks it were no evil course to follow in England for planting inhabitants in Virginia: it is forced by necessity in Lisbon."—Green's *Calendar State Papers.*

ment for we intend to have of every trade and profession, both honest, wise and painful men whereof our land is able to spare and to furnish many as we had experience in our last sending out[1], which will be glad to go and to plant themselves so happily, and their children after them to hold and keep conformity with the laws, language, and religion of England."

The following allusion is made to the new Charter "His Majesty hath granted an enlargement of our Charter, with many ample privileges wherein we have knightes and gentlemen of good placed name for the Kings Council to govern us."

Expedition under Sir Thomas Gates.

The expedition, concerning which there had been so much conversation and preparation in London, did not leave the Sound at Plymouth, until late in the evening of the 2d of June, 1609, four days after the delivery of Price's discourse at Paul's Cross.

The Company had appointed Sir Thomas Gates, Lieutenant General and Deputy Governor of Virginia, one who was esteemed for his straightforwardness, and long experience. Under the Earl of Essex, he had served in

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[1] Capt. Newport sailed in the "Mary Margaret" and arrived for the third time at Jamestown, in September or October, 1608. Among his passengers was Francis West, brother of Lord Delaware, afterwards Governor of Virginia. Thomas Graves, Raleigh Crashaw living in 1624, Daniel Tucker afterwards Governor of Somers' Islands.

the expedition against Cadiz, in 1596, and was knighted for his services. In 1599, he was at Plymouth, in the public service. In 1604, he went to the Netherlands with a letter from Sir Henry Wotton to the English ambassador, Sir Ralph Winwood, in which the former wrote: "I entreat you to love him, and to love me too, and to assure yourself that you cannot love two honester men."

Sir George Somers, the appointed Admiral for Virginia, was born in 1554, at Lyme Regis, and in 1604, was knighted as of Boxholm.[1] He was an approved naval officer, who years before had been in the West Indies, "having often carried command, and chief charge in many ships royal of her Majesty's, and in sundry voyages made many defeats and attempts in the time of the Spaniards quarreling with us upon the Islands and Indies." When he decided to go on the Virginia expedition he was a member of Parliament, and in a debate which took place in the House of Commons, on February 14, 1609–10, whether his going to Virginia made it necessary to relinquish his seat, Sir George More remarked that he "ought not to be removed; that it was no disgrace, but a grace to be Governor in Virginia."

Gates sailed with Newport as Captain, now making his fourth voyage to Virginia, in the ship "Sea Adventure" a ship of three hundred tons burthen, whose wreck

[1] He died November 9, 1610. In Howe's *Chronicles*, London, A.D. 1631, is this statement: "Sir George Somers went from Virginia to the Bermoodes to fetch Porke, where he dyed of a surfeit, in eating of a pig."

at the Bermudas is well known. Among the passengers was a native of Gravesend, a skilful shipwright, Richard Frobisher, with whose aid was constructed the small vessels "Patience" and "Deliverance" which in May, 1610, brought the passengers to Virginia.[1]

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[1] For a description of the other vessels of the Gates' fleet see *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 30–34. Before Gates left the Bermudas there was the following cut upon a palmetto tree "Conditur in hoc loco, navis per Ricardum Frobisherum oneris 70, quœ destinatur Virginiæ, nos omnes hinc transportabitur. Anno 1610, May 4." Hardy in a description of the Bermudas published more than two centuries ago, mentions that he saw this inscription hung as a relic over the chair in the Governor's Hall.

Frobisher returned to England, and Strachey in 1612, mentions that he was living at Lime House. On the 13th of January, 1614–15, he was employed by the East India Company to construct a ship at Shoreham. In 1616, he sailed for the East Indies as master carpenter of the ship "Charles," and in 1618 returned to England. In 1619, he is designated as "an old servant" by the E. I. Company, and he agrees to go to India with his two sons for seven years, and on the 30th of September, it is mentioned in the *Calendar of the East India Company*, that "Furbusher the carpenter with his wife and family, in one bark, sailed for Malacca, and so for Goa, to build shipping."

CHAPTER V.

AFFAIRS OF THE LONDON COMPANY, A.D. 1610.

DECLARATION PUBLISHED. CRASHAW'S SERMON. LETTER OF SIR GEORGE SOMERS TO EARL OF SALISBURY. RHYMES OF RICH. CONFUTATION OF SCANDALOUS REPORTS.

TOWARD the close of the year 1609, several ships of the fleet which left in June, came back with the distressing intelligence that the "Sea Venture" a fine vessel of three hundred tons, Captain Newport in command, and Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, with other valuable persons on board, had been separated from the rest, in a storm, and that they had not arrived in Virginia. It was a dark hour for the London Company, but the Governor General of Virginia, Lord Delaware[1], did not despair, and determined to go in person.

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[1] Thomas West, Lord De la Warr, now written Delaware, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. Member of King James' Privy Council, married Cecily daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley. Governor in Virginia, 1610, visited England, 1611, and died June 7, 1618, on return voyage to Virginia. His three brothers were identified with

Upon the 14th of December, 1609, at Stationers' Hall, Lord Delaware, Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Walter Cope entered a book, which early in 1610, was published with the following title.

"A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia, of the degrees which it hath received; and meanes by which it hath beene advanced; and the resolution and conclusion of hiss Maiesties Councel of that Colony, for the constant and patient prosecution thereof until by the mercies of God, it shall re-tribute a fruittful harvest to the Kingdom of Heaven, and this Commonwealth.

Sett forth by the authority of the Governors and Councellors established for that Plantation." Small quarto, pp. 26.

The Round Church of the Temple, still preserved, is a beautiful specimen of the early English pointed architecture. Hawthorne speaks of its "roof springing in a harmonious and accordant fountain out of the chastened pillars that support its pinioned arches," and "polished like many gems." It was completed in A.D. 1240, and upon several of its monuments are recumbent knights with legs crossed, carved in stone, the effigies of those who had buckled on their armor in the days of the Crusades. The Preacher of the Temple, William Crashaw, was a man of poetic temperment, and appreciated the heroic self sacrifice

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Virginia—Francis was Governor, John was Muster Master General and Nathaniel a member of the Council.

Lord Delaware had one son Henry, who became 4th Lord in 1628. Charles his son and 5th Lord, died in 1687.

of Lord Delaware in going to Virginia like a valiant knight to contend for civilization, and "the faith once delivered to the saints." On the 21st of February, 1609–10, he delivered a stirring discourse from the text Luke xxii, 32. "But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, therefore when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

His theme was the importance of converting the savage, and founding an English Church and Commonwealth in America. In considering the discouragements to the plantation, he alluded to the objection "that it hath so poor and small a beginning, and is therefore subject to the flouts of many who say, that it is but the action of a very few persons, and they send but poor supplies, and a handful of men at a time, and one good ship would beat them all.

"For answer, I say, many greater states than this is likely to prove, hath as little or less beginning. The Israelities went down into Egypt being but seventy souls, and were there, about two hundred years and little more, and most of that time in miserable bondage, yet did they grow to six hundred thousand men, besides children, and soon after, to one of the greatest kingdoms of the earth. Look at the beginning of Rome how poor, how mean, how despised it was, and yet on that base beginning, grew to be mistress of the World.

"Oh! but those that go in person are raked up of our refuse, and are a number of disordered men unfit to bring to pass any good action. So indeed, say those, that lie and slander. But I answer for the quality of them that

go, they be such as offer themselves voluntarily, for none are pressed, none are compelled, and they be like, for aught I see, to those that are left behind, even of all sorts, better or worse. But for many that go in person, let these objectors know, they be as good as themselves and it may be, many degrees better."

In another portion of the discourse he mentioned that colonists must not expect luxury, but be willing to endure hardness like their forefathers, for "had they been such mecocks and milk-sops as we are, never would they have expelled the Danes, nor overcome the French."[1]

In concluding, he thus apostrophized "And thou Virginia! whom, though mine eyes see not, my heart shall love, how hath God honoured thee! Thou hast thy name from the worthiest Queen that ever the World had; thou hast thy matter from the greatest King on earth; and thou shalt now have thy fame from one of the most glorious nations under the sun, and under the conduct of a General of as great and ancient nobility as any ever engaged in action of this nature."

On the 19th of March, 1609–10, Sir Thomas Smith and others entered the sermon at Stationers' Hall, and it was soon printed with the following title:

"A sermon preached in London, before the Right Honourable, the Lord La Warre, Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that kingdome, and the rest of the Adven-

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[1] Other extracts from this sermon are in Neill's *English Colonization of America*, Strahan & Co., London, 1871.

turers in that Plantation, at the said Generall his leaue taking of England his native countrey and departure for Virginea, February 21, 1609.

"By W. Crashaw, Bachelor of Divinitie and Preacher of the Temple. Wherein both the lawfulness of that action is mantained, and the necessity thereof is also demonstrated, not so much out of the grounds of Policy, as of Humanity, Equity and Christianity. Taken from his mouth and published by direction.

"London, Printed for William Welby and are to be sold in Paul's Churchyard at the Signe of the Swan, 1610."

Prefixed to the sermon is the following:

"To the printer.

"My earnest desire to further the plantation in Virginia makes me, perhaps too bold with W. Crashaw, thus without his leave to publish the same.

"But the great good I assure myself it will do, shall merit your praise and my pardon. You may give it what title you please, only let this enclosed Dedication to Parliament be freely prefixed in the book, for your credit print, to the care whereof I leave you.

Your friend L. D."

At the head of each page is the title "New Yeere's Gift to Virginia." It probably appeared about March 25, 1610, then New Year's Day.

On the first of April, 1610, Delaware sailed in the good ship "Delaware," Robert Tindall, Master, accompanied by the "Blessing" and "Hercules," having learned nothing from his friends who had sailed in the "Sea

Venture" and not expecting again to see them. On the 6th of June, he reached Point Comfort, Virginia, and there learned that Gates and Somers had arrived seventeen days before. Two weeks after Delaware's arrival, Sir George Somers wrote to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

LETTER OF SIR GEORGE SOMERS.

"Right Honorable.

"May y^{t} please yo^{r} good honor to bee advertized that sithence our dep'ture out of England in goinge to Virginia about some 200 leagues from the Bermoodas wee weare taken with a verie greate storme or hurricane which sundred all the fleete & on S^{t} Jame's daye beinge the 23 of Julie wee had such a leake in our ship insomuch that there was 9 ffoote of water before wee knewe of any such thinge, wee pumped ij pumpes and bailed in iij or iiij places with certaine Barrackoos & then wee kept 100 men alwaies workinge night and daie from the 23d vntill the 28th of the same Julie being ffridaie (at w^{ch} time) wee sawe the Island of Bermuda wheare our ship liethe upon the rocke, a quarter of a mile distant from the shoare wheare wee saved all our liues and afterwards saued much of our goodes, but all our bread was wet and lost. We continued in this Island from the 28th Julie vntill the 10 of Maie. In w^{ch} time wee built ij small Barkes to carrie our people to Virginia which in number whare 140 men and woemen at the coming to the Island. We dep'ted from the Bermuda the 12 of Maie and arived in Virginia the 23d of the same

monethe, and cominge to Cape Henrie the Captaine theare tould vs of the ffamen that was at James Towne whereupon wee hastened vp there and found y^{t} time, ffor they had eaten all the quick thinge that weare theare & some of them had eaten snakes and adders. But by the industrie of our Governor, in the Bermooda (Sir Thomas Gates) thear was saued a litell meal; ffor our allowance would not extende to above one pownde & a halfe ffor a man a weeke, and this with ffishe we liued [on] & this allowance 9 monthes our Governo^{r} Sir Thomas Gates did allowe them as wee had with some Porke & recovered all, savinge iij that did die & weare past recou^{rie} before our cominge.

"Wee consulted together what course wear best to bee taken ffor our meanes would not continue aboue 14 daies. Wee thought good to take into our iiij pinnaces as much of the munic̄on as wee could & tooke in all the people & weare going downe the River, but by the waie wee met wth the Lorde Laware & Lord Governor which made our heartes verie glad & wee p'sently returned vp to James towne & theare wee found no saluages for they weare affraid to come thither for they did not trade wth our men these manie monethes. The Trothe is they had nothing to trade withal but mulberries. Now wee are in a good hope to plant & abide here ffor heare is a good course taken & a greater care then ever thear was. I ame goeinge to the Bermooda for ffishe & hogges with ij small Pinaces & are in a good opinion to bee back againe before the Indians doe gather their harvest. The Bermooda is the most plentiful place that ever I came to, for ffishe Hogges, and ffowle. Thus wishinge all healthe with the

increase of honor doe humblie take my leave. ffrom Virginia the xxth of June, 1610.

"Y^r^ honors to comand,

"GEORGE SOMERS.

"ffrom James Towne in Virginia.

"To the Right Honor^ble^ the Earl of Salisburie, Lord Treasurer of England these."

The "Blessing and "Hercules" sailed for England, in July, and among the passengers were Sir Thomas Gates, Captain Newport and Robert Rich, a brother of Sir Nathaniel Rich, and kinsman of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. In September, they arrived in London, and the Company listened with wonder to the story of the shipwreck, and the long residence in Bermoodas which proved "a wilderness of sweets," amid "the voiceful music of the sea."

What superstitious mariners in the waters of the "vexed Bermoothes" had declared were the dismal groans of evil spirits, proved to be the grunting of hogs, the offspring of black swine that years before had found their way to shore, from some Spanish wreck. Fish had eagerly leaped upon the hooks thrown in the water, the birds with beautiful plumage, and a simplicity surpassing little children had rested upon the shoulders of the castaways, and the palmetto tree had furnished food, while its broad leaves had been used in the construction of light cabins.

Rich, "a soldier blunty and plaine," quickly prepared a ballad[1] of poor rhyme which on the first of October, was entered at Stationers' Hall, and before long it was published, and its jingling lines were familiar to the half starved, and wonder loving inhabitants, around White Chapel in London.

The title was as follows:

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[1] John O'Halliwell discovered a copy of this ballad in the library of the Earl Charlemont, in Dublin. No other copy is known to exist. In 1865, he had twenty-five copies printed, fifteen of which were destroyed, and ten were distributed. In 1878, it was reprinted in *Early Settlement of Virginia and Virginiola, as noticed by Poets and Players,*" by Rev. Edward D. Neill, A. B. Published by Johnson, Smith and Harrison, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

NEVVES FROM VIRGINIA.

THE LOST FLOCKE TRIUMPHANT;

With the happy Arrival of that famous and worthy knight Sr Thomas Gates: and the well reputed and valient Captaine Mr Christopher Newporte, and others, into Virginia.

With the manner of their distresse in the Iland of Devils (otherwise called Bermoothawes) where they remained 42 weeks, and builded two Pynaces, in which they returned unto Virginia.

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by R. RICH, GENT., one of the voyage.

LONDON:
Printed by Edw. Allde, and are to be solde by John Wright, at Christ-Church dore. 1610.

Robert Rich returned to Bermudas or Somers' Island in which his kinsman Sir Robert Rich, in 1618 made Earl of Warwick, had a great interest. Robert's brother, Sir Nathaniel, was a prominent and influential man, a graduate of Emmanuel, Cambridge. On the 18th of October, 1620, a letter was written to Sir Nathaniel Rich, informing him that his brother had died, having been treated "by a blind physician or rather a quack-salver." The writer complained that W. Dutton the executor, "had not the honesty or manners to invite Mr. Capt. Kendall and Mr. Semour [Seymour] who gave him a volley of shot at his burial, to so much as a cup of aqua vitæ or any thing else according to the ancient and laudable custom which heretofore hath been used at burials." He also asks to "have his brother's arms drawn and sent out for the purpose of having a solemn funeral performed."[1]

Upon the eighth of November, 1610, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Maurice Berkely and Master Richard Martin, entered at Stationers' Hall a book which was published with this title :

"A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as haue tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise.

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[1] Robert Rich of Standon, Essex, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Dutton, and had two sons Robert and Nathaniel. John Dutton the executor of Robert Rich, writing to Sir Nathaniel Rich, speaks of his "sister Rich," probably the widow of Robert. The particulars of his death have been obtained from the Manchester Papers in *8th Report of Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts.*

"Published by aduise and direction of the Councell of Virginia.

[A wood cut representing one planting, another watering a tree, with a circlet of clouds above, with Jehovah, in Hebrew, in the centre.]

"London, Printed for William Barrett, and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Paul's Church-yard, 1610." Small 4to, pp. 68.

The "author relates nothing but what he hath from the secrets of the judicial councell of Virginia, from the letter of Lord La Ware, from the mouth of Sir Thomas Gates, whose wisdoms are not so shallow as easily to be deceived by others, nor consciences so wretched as by pretence to deceive others."

Some of the vagabonds who ran away from Virginia in the ship Swallow, slanderously asserted upon their return to England that Sir Thomas Gates carried in one ship all the principal commissioners who should successively have governed the Colony. To this, the "Declaration" replies that none were in the ship, with Gates, but such "as were precisely and peremptorily appointed for Virginia."[1]

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[1] Capt. John Smith years after the slander had been refuted by Gates and the London Company, deliberately revives the falsehood that Gates, Somers and Newport had each of them a commission, that the one who first arrived, to call in the old, without the knowledge or consent of them that were then holding office in Virginia. "All things being ready, because these three Captain's could not agree for place, it was concluded they should all go in one ship." —*Smith.*

CHAPTER VI.

AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND A.D. 1611.

PREPARATIONS FOR A SECOND EXPEDITION UNDER SIR THOMAS GATES. LETTERS OF VIRGINIA COMPANY AND SIR EDWIN SANDYS.

AS soon as Sir Thomas Dale sailed, letters were issued to many towns soliciting subscriptions for sending out more supplies of men and provisions to Virginia. The following dated February 28, 1610–11, was sent by the Council in England for Virginia, to the Mayor, and Jurats of Sandwich.

LETTER OF KING'S COUNCIL FOR VIRGINIA.

"The eyes of all Europe looking upon our endeavours to spread the Gospell among the Heathen people of Virginia to plant o^{r} English nation there & to settle at in those p^{ts} w^{ch} maie be peculiar to o^{r} nation, to them wee maie thereby bee secured from being eaten out of all proffitt of trade by our more industrious neighbour wee cannot doubt but that the eyes also of yo^{r} best iudgments and affections are fixed no lesse upon a designe of soe great consequence. The reasons whre that action hath not yet received the successe of o^{r} desires & expectac̄ons are published in print

to all the world. To repeate them all were idlenes in us & must bee tedious to you yet to omytt mention of that mayne reason wch hath shaken the whole frame of this busnes & wch hath begott theise o^{r} requests to you would but returne unto us a fruitlesse accompt, and consequentlie a hazard to destroie that life wch yet breatheth in this action.

"That reason in few wordes was want of meanes to imploie good men & want of iust payment of the meanes wch weare promised disabling us therebie to set forth o^{r} supplies in due season.

"Now that wee have established a forme of gou^{r}ment fit for such members in the psons of the Lord La Warr & S^{r} George Sommers allready in those pts As also in S^{r} Thomas Dale imbarqt with 300 men & provisions for them and the Collony to the value of many thousands of pounds, who is allready falne downe the ryver in his waie thither & in S^{r} Thomas Gates whom wee reserve to second this expedicon in Maie next wth 300 more of the choiest p'sons wee can gett for moneys through yo^{r} meanes & our owne Cares Wee accompt from many advised consultacons that 30000£ to bee paid in two yeares for three supplies will bee a sufficient sum to settle there a very able & strong foundacon of añexing another Kingdome to this Crowne.

"Of this 30000£ there is allready signed by diverse pticular noblemen gent^{n} & merchants the some of 18000 as maie appeare unto you by a true copy of their names & somes written wth their owne hands in a Register booke wch remaynes as a recorde in the hands of S^{r} Thomas

Smith T'urer for that plantacon so that the adventures to bee procured from all the noblemen the Byshopps & Clergie that have not yet signed from all the Gentrie Merchants and Corporate townes of this Kingdome doth amount but to 12000^{li} payable as above said. To accomplish wch sum wee entreate yo^{r} favours no farther then amongst yo^{r} selves & as shall seeme good unto you upon respect of yo^{r} iudgments ranck & place wee endevour by theis o^{r} requests to gaine as helpes unto us in such poore measure as wee have begun towards the advancement of soe gloryous an action.

We are farther to entreate yo^{r} helpes to procure as such numbers of men & of such condic̄on as you are willing & able wee send you herewth the list of the numbers & qualities that wee entende God willing to imploye in Maie next.

As soon as you can wth conveinency wee desire yo^{r} resoluc̄ons touching meanes & men upon receipt thereof wee shall acknowledge due thanks & lymitt the tyme of their appearance wherein wee shall not forgett the pointe of charge to the undertakers howsoev^{r} wee p'ferre so farre as lyes in us a seasonable dispatch to the first place of o^{r} consideracons.

The benefitt by this action. if it shall please God to blesse these begyanings wth a happye successe must arise to the generall good of this Com̄on wealth. To laie then a stronge foundac̄on of soe great a work wee hold o^{r} selves & o^{r} request to you warrented by the reasons aforesaid & by the rules of honor & judgment & for as wee o^{r} selves the present adventurers cannott receive the whole benefitt

soe can it not bee expected that wee should undergoe the whole charge.

The often renewed complaints against Companyes heretofore hath happened by reason of the Monopolizinge of trade into a few mens hands and though the yce of this busnes hath been brooken by the purses cares & adventures of a few yet wee seclude no subiect from the future benefitt of o^{r} prsent care charge and hazard of p'son & adventures all wch wee leave to yo^{r} iudicious consideracons & onlie importune yo^{r} speedy resolucons that according to the warrante of duty wee maie either wash o^{r} hands from farther care or cheerfully imbrace strength from you to the furtherance of this action that tends soe directly to advance the glory of God the honor of o^{r} English nation & the profitt and securitie in o^{r} iudgment of this Kingdome and soe leaving you to that sence hereof wch his goodness shall please to infuse into you who is of absolute power to dispose of all things to the best wee rest

From Lrd Thomas Symthes house in Philpott Lane the 28th of February 1610.

Yo^{r} very loving friends

PEMBROKE[1] MONTGOMERY[2]
H. L. SOUTHAMPTON[3]
R. LISLE[4]

(illegible) THO SYMTHE[5] ROBERT MANSELL[6]
WALTER COPE[7] HE FANSHAWE[8] EDWIN SANDYS[9]
G. COPPIN[10] THO GATES[11] BAPTISTE HICKE[12]

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[1] William Herbert, the 3d Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1580 at Wilton, Wiltshire. Educated at Oxford. He was installed Knight of the Garter in 1604, at the same time as the Earl of Southampton. He was an active member of the Virginia Company until its disso-

Sir Edwin Sandys who lived at Northborne near Sandwich, forwarded the communication with the following letter.

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lution. *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 284, 292. Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1626, and Broad Gate Hall was remodeled and called Pembroke College. In 1630 he died.

[3] Sir Philip Herbert, younger brother to Earl of Pembroke, created Earl of Montgomery, May 4, 1605, Knight of the Garter, succeeded as 4th Earl Pembroke April 10, 1630, died January 23, 1649–50.

[3] Henry Wriothsley was attainted in 1588, in 1598 a cavalry officer in Ireland, in 1599 went to the Netherlands, returned in 1600, and on July 3, 1603 was restored Earl of Southampton, and at a feast at Windsor was installed Knight of the Garter. He succeeded Sir Edwin Sandys, as Governor of the Virginia Company.

[4] Robert Sidney was in 1604 created Baron Penshurst and in 1605 Viscount Lisle. In 1615 was Knight of the Garter, and in 1618 Earl of Leicester, at which time he was active as a member of the Virginia Company.—*History of Virginia Company*, p. 292.

[5] Sir Thomas Smith under Queen Elizabeth was Farmer of Customs. He was the second son of Sir Thomas of Osterhanger, Kent. On the 30th of January, 1618 (O. S.), his elegant residence at Deptford was burned. His London house was in Philpot Lane, Langborne Ward. His eldest son Sir John, married Isabel, daughter of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. Another son married an illegitimate daughter of Charles Blomt, Lord Mountjoy.

[6] Sir Robert Mansell was Treasurer of the Navy, and the Vice Admiral. In 1624 he obtained a patent for the exclusive manufacture of glass, by the use of sea or pit coal, and revolutionized the glass trade. In 1638, although advanced in age, he was present at the launching of a vessel. For many years he was a director of the East India Company.

[7] Sir Walter Cope, Gent. of the King's Bed Chamber. In January, 1607, he requests permission of the East India Company to send out

S^r. I am requested by his Ma^ties Counsil for Virginia to conveigh these inclosed to yo^r hands & to procure yo^r answer against the beginning of the next term. The effect is to unite yo^r town, & such particular persons of worth as shall be so disposed, to partnership in the great action of Virginia: wch after manifold disasters doth now under the government of noble & worthie leaders begin to

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a young man to obtain "parrots, marmosets, and monkeys." His daughter Isabel, married the agreeable and elegant Sir Henry Rich, created Lord Kensington in 1622, and in 1624 Earl of Holland—A friend writes to Dudley Carleton: "At play, at Sir Walter Copes had to squire his daughter about, until he was weary." After his death, Chamberlain writes on Feb. 9, 1615, "Cope died in debt and his house in Kensington for sale."

[8] Sir Henry Fanshaw, son of Thomas. In 1604 he was made Remembrancer of the Exchequer, and in 1616 died.

[9] Sir Edwin Sandys, second son of Archbishop Sandys, born December 9, 1561. Received A. B. at Oxford, 1579. Traveled on the continent, and in 1599 at Paris published *Europæ Speculum.* Knighted in May, 1603. In 1619 elected Governor of Virginia Company. Died at Northborne, Kent, Oct., 1629, and left £1500 to Oxford University.

[10] Sir George Coppin, on May 3, 1604, made Clerk of Chancery Court, and afterwards was one of the contractors to sell King's lands and forests.

[11] Sir Thos. Gates see p. 53.

[12] Sir Baptist Hicks made his fortune as a silk merchant, was a Justice of Peace of Middlesex, created Viscount Cambden; in 1612, built a fine Hall of brick and stone in St. John street near St. John Lane, for the use of Justices of the Peace, which was commonly called Hicks' Hall. His eldest daughter married Lord Noel. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, who in 1848 left the Church of England and became a Baptist minister, was a descendant.

revive, & we trust ere long shall flourish. I acquainted them that yo^{r} Town had been much hindered by sickness: in regard whereof the lesse will be perhaps expected. But they could not wholy passe over so principall a port, in an action tending generally to the good of the whole Realm, but the profit whereof will chiefly fall to the Hauen Towns & principally in them to merchants. But I will leave you to the letter it self: Only thus much (to acquaint y^{u} wth the present state of the busines); we have sent away S^{r} Thomas Dale wth 300 men, & great abound-ance of victual & furniture. We send after them this next month Two ships more, wth 100 Kyne, & 200 swine for breed.

And if monie come in, whereof we are in very good hope in May next we shall send S^{r} Thomas Gates wth other 300 men, of the best & choisest we can well procure. W$\bar{c}$h done, & God blessing them; the busines we account is woun. Thus wth my very hartie salutations, I betake y^{u} to the Tuition & Direction of the Highest, & rest

Y^{r} very loving friend

EDWIN SANDYS.

Norborn
21 Martii 1610.

CHAPTER VII.

AFFAIRS IN VIRGINIA, A. D. 1611.

LORD DELAWARE'S SICKNESS. LETTERS OF SIR THOMAS DALE, DEPUTY GOVERNOR GEORGE PERCY AND REV. ALEXANDER WHITAKER.

THE letter of Sir George Somers mentioned the arrival of Lord Delaware early in June, 1610, and on the 12th, Delaware appointed the following Council:

Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Lieutenant General.
Sir George Somers, Knight, Admiral.
Captain George Percy, Esq.
Sir Ferdinando Weinman[1], Knight, Marshal.
Capt. Christopher Newport.
William Strachey, Esq., Secretary.

A few weeks after his arrival the weather was very warm and he suffered from the ague, and then he was troubled with gout and scurvy. During the winter his health did not improve, and on the 28th of March, 1611, accompanied by his physician Dr. Bohun, and Captain

[1] Ferdinando Wenman or Weynman was a near relative of Lord Delaware. Thomas, his father, of Caswell, Oxfordshire, married Jane sister of Lord Delaware's father. Ferdinando married Ann, daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys, and her sister became the wife of Sir Francis Wyatt, afterwards Governor of Virginia.

Samuel Argall for Nevis a small island in the West Indies about twenty miles square. Here he did not grow better, and soon returned to England.

Captain George Percy, Deputy Governor.

Captain George Percy was deputed to act as Governor in his absence, a person of spirit and judgment. His brother, the Earl of Northumberland, upon a mere suspicion of being connected with the Gun Powder Plot, had been committed to the Tower, and there employed Thomas Harriot, the mathematician, who had been with Granville to North Carolina, to be his companion in study, in his rooms in the brick Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh was confined within the Tower at the same time, and their conversation about Virginia, and the fact that he was the youngest brother of an Earl who was under the displeasure of the Court, had probably induced him to join the expedition which in December, 1606, under Newport sailed for Virginia. In the MSS. of the Percy Family there is evidence of interest upon the part of the Earl in Virginia, and in his brother George. Newport returned to England from his first voyage on the 29th of July, 1607, and from his second voyage on the 20th of May, 1608, bringing back with him an Indian "of a shrewd and subtle capacity" named Namontack, a friend of Powhatan. Among the memoranda of Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland, which have been preserved, are these under date of 1607–8. "For apparel for M^{r} George Percy £9, 2s, 4d, sent by Captain Newport." "For the rings and other pieces of copper given to the Virginia Prince 3s."

"To M^r^ Melshawe for many necesaries which he delivered to M^r^ Percy toward the building of a house in Virginia, 14s."

Captain Newport about December, 1608, returned from his third voyage, and under date of February 6, 1608–9, the Earl of Northumberland makes this entry "For cutting a large and small Virginia stone 8s. Gold 24s. Setting large stone 15s," and on February 6, 1610, the payments made for George Percy amounted to £432, 1s, 6d.

Percy had been before made Deputy Governor, at the time that Capt. John Smith was sent to England to answer some charges. His term as acting Governor was very brief as Sir Thomas Dale arrived soon after Delaware's[1] departure, as is mentioned in the following letter written on the 25th of May 1611.

Letter of Sir Thomas Dale.

"To the President and Counsell of the Companie of Adventurers and Planters in Virginia."

"Right ho. and the rest of our Noble friends,—After I had left the lands end the 17 of March w'th soe happie successe (by the permission of the divine goodnesse) and w'th soe fayre windes was our wholl journey accompanied as w'th in one month, the 29 of Aprill. We had in

[1] This letter is a transcript from the Ashmolean MSS. of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, made by George D. Scull, Esq., of Oxford, and first printed in the Richmond *Standard* of January 28, 1882.

friendly Consorte all our wholl ffleete together reached Dominico, a passage w'ch I could hartily wish might not by declined by those our English ffleete w'ch should Att any tyme make into VIRGINIA probable enough as may appeare by this our tryall to be most speedie. And I am right well assured most convenient for our peoples refreshing and p'erservacon of our Cattle. The first may be made good by reason of a contynual winde from the Canaries to the West Indies, the second by restitucon of our sicke people into health by the helpes of fresh Ayre, diett and the bathes, ffor true it is we bringe under shipped of tonnadge, and pestered by that means. that our goodes filled up the Orlage having noe roome for our men to be accomodated, but crowded together theire owne Aires and the uncleanliness both of the ship, doggs, &c., gave some infecon amongst us and was the cause of the loss of well more a dozen men. I coulde earnestly wishe therefore that you will be pleased to advise the undertakar's concerninge this point, that the like inconvenience may be avoyded in the future. The 12 of May we seized our Bay and the same night w'th a favourable South East gale (all prayse to God for yt) we came to an anchor before Algernoune fforte att Pointe Comfort, where to our noe small Comfort again we discov'red the Hercules, even then p'paring to take the advantage of the present Tide to sett sayles for England, we had noe sooner saluted the fort, and that us, and were come to an anchor but Captin Adams came aboord us in his longe boate, who gave me to understand both of his Lor'. pp's[1] dep'ture for

[1] Lord Delaware Governor.

Mevis in the West Indies some tenne dayes before in Comminge in (as by his Lo'. p's l'rs ye shall further understand thereof) as of Capt. Pearcyes being at the fforte, who together w'th some of the p'sent Counsell had come downe thither to give Capt. Adams his discharge. It was not full two howers before my self and Captin Newport went ashore. where we had related unto us the full circumstance of many things and the condicon of the p'sent Colonye. In this fforte we found be sides Capt. Davys his Company, the most of Sir Thomas Gates his company there living quartered as well by reason they were not of Competency in numbers to take in againe the two ffortes of Keconghtan and to supply JAMES TOWNE and ALGERNOUNE fforte, both, as also because att all tymes this place yieldeth the better reliefe by meanes of the fishing then James Towne. I found many omissions of necessary duties w'ch would have indeed advanced the end w'ch we have nowe proposed concerning the p'petuall subsistence of the Colony but a plantacon being not the full and utmost intencon resolved on, or soe advised from home. but rather the search after those Mynes w'ch FALDOE the HELVETIAN had given intelligence of in England, and w'ch his Lo'p was intreated unto by the Committies l'res (w'ch I have since seene) to make explanacon of was the cause of those omissions. Howbeit, I found howe carefull his Lo'p hath been in what either his forces, or owne abilitie of bodie enable him unto. And well I p'ceave his zeale, how it is enflamed to His Right Noble worke. According therefore as his Lo'p left in direcon for me (y't I should come in before his returne) with a commission likewise to governe as his Deputie in

the Interim. My first labor was to repossesse me of the Two last yeares erected ffortes upon SOUTHAMPTON RIVER, FFORTE HENRY AND FFORTE CHARLES.

The second day therefore after my arrivall, I went and viewed the fforts and grounde for Corne findinge the Pallasadoes yet most standing about those fforts and the ground though somewhat later in the yeare to be sowed w'th some little paines to be cleared. I drew all my newe men ashoare and taking some of the rest of both Companies quartered as aforesaid in Algernoune fforte, whilest I employed our Carpenters to build Cabins and Cottages for the p'sent we, on all handes fell to digging and cleansing the ground and setting of Corne and in 4 or 5 dayes we had sett more ground about fort HENRY than Sir Thomas Gates founde sett by the Indians in the yeare before. After I had forwarded this worke because I conceaved it necessary as well to looke into the p'nte state of James Towne and what might be fitt to be accomplished there before my search further up for a convenient newe seat the rayse a principall Towne, according to my directions as also to unlode our provisions into our Magazine of w'ch I knowe some of ill-condicioned Ships required the more speed, as likewise carefull to sett some hands likewise on the worke for the lading of their Ships w'th all conveniency and speed for their Returne. I left the charge of Corne setting about Charles fforte under the command and care of the Captives w'ch I nowe had broughte; leaving therefore still on shoare w'th them all my newe Company. Constituting Capt. James Davys Taxe Mr. of the wholl three fforts, who havinge instructions given from my self should appointe each Capt of the fforte what to command his officers and his people to

execute, who weekely therefore (I did soe order it) that they should give accompt to Capt Davis, and Capt Davis to me. This thus settled and evry one busie att his taske and dayes labour, the 19 I came before James Towne, being Sonday in the afternoone, where I landed and first repairing to the Church (the company thither assembled) Mr. Poole gave us a Sermon, after that Mr. Strachy did openlv reade that commission w'ch his Lo'p had left w'th him for me, Capt Percy surrendering up his, it being accordingly soe to expire. I found here likewise noe corne sett, some fewe seedes put into a private garden or Two, but the Cattle, Cowes, goats, swine, poultry, &c., to be well and carefully on all hands p'served and all in good plight and likeing. The next day I called into consultacon such whom I found here made of the Counsell by his Lo'p where were proposed many businesses necessary, and almost everyone essentiall w'ch indeed required much labour and many hands, as namely the reparcon of the falling Church and soe of the Storehouse, a stable for our horses, a Munition house, a Powder house, a newe well for the amending of the most unholesome water w'ch the old afforded. Brick to be made, a Sturgion house, w'ch the late Curer you sent by the Hercules much complayneth of, his worke otherwise ympossible to come to good, and indeed he dresseth the same sturgions p'fect and well. a Block house to be raysed on the North side of our back River to p'vent the Indians from killing our Cattle a house to be sett up to lodge our Cattle in the winter, and hay to be appointed in his due tyme to be made, a Smythe's forge to be p'fected. Caske for our Sturgions to be made, and besides private gardens for each man. Comon gardens for hemp and flaxe, and such

other seedes, and lastly a bridge to land our goods dry and safe upon, for most of w'ch I take p'ate order. And appointed first for the Church Capt. Edw. Brewster with his Ging. and for the stable Capt. Lawson with his Ginge. Captain Newport undertooke the Bridge w'th his Mariners, all the Savages I sett on worke who duly ply their taske and thus when theis are done the others shalbe sett uppon. In the meane while we nowe of necessity are inforced to plie the unlading of our ship to w'ch we call other hands not imployed and I myself likewise somewhat busied two or three days to dispatch Capt Adams w'th all speed w'th theis our l'ters of Auisoe, who the 21 was p'nte w'th att Counsell where we positively determined w'th God's grace (after the Cornes sitting at the Princess ffortes to goe up unto the falls ward to search and advise upon a seate for a new Towne w'th 200 men, where we will sett downe and build houses as fast as we may resolving to leave at JAMES TOWNE some good ffyfty men w'th a sufficient Commander for the p'servacon of our breeders likewise att that Counsell it being then debated, howe hopefull the truste for a while would be unto the Northward rivers especially that PATTOMACK for corne after harvest. I did forbid all manner of tradings with the Indians least our comodities should growe every day w'th them more vile and cheap by their plenty. And being pollitiquely conveyed by Powhatan unto those Northerne people, who seeing our access threaten againe (as in this last winter was Capt. Argoll in the Discovery) might forestall our truckings. Likewise the 21. I went into Paspahaighes ould Towne because it was related unto me to be good ground to sowe corne in purposing to sett there some hemp and flax, but surveighing yt I found it too much

rough weeded and overgowne w'th shrubbs and bushes which nowe being greene and highe would not be soe readily cleansed this yeare for any servic. The 22, I made divers p'clamacons w'ch I caused to be sett up for the publique viewe, one for the p'sevacon of our cattle amongst our selves, another for the valuacon of pr'visions amongst the Mariners, the Copies of w'ch I have sent and leave to your noble consideracons, every one here thinking those rates very easy and reasonable.

Let me intreat that we may have both a viz admiral And hired Mariners to be all tymes resident here, the benefit will quickly make good the charge as well by a trade of ffurs to be obtayned w'th the Salvages in the Northern Rivers to be returned home as also to furnish us here w'th corne and fish. The waste of such men all this time whom we might trust w'th our pynaces, leaves us destitute this season of soe great a quantity of fish as not farre from our owne Bay would sufficiently satisfie the whole Colony for a whole yeare. Our wante likewise of able Chirurgions is not a lyttle, be pleased to advise the Committees for us in this pointe.

And thus having nothing ells at theis pr'sent to be further a necessary trouble to me I humbly take my leave in all offices and travell to the advancem't of this yo'r hopefull Colony, bowing me ever unto the same and yo'r hon'able command

a constant & p'petuall servant

THOMAS DALE[1],

Virginia James Towne the 25 of May, 1611.

[1] This letter reached England in the summer. On August 16, 1611, John Wright, Bookseller, entered at Stationers' Hall "A

Dispatches received from Sir Thomas Dale, spurred the London Company without delay, to send out Sir Thomas Gates with six ships, three hundred men, one hundred kine, and provisions of all sorts. Especially active in fitting out the expedition was the distinguished army officer Sir Edward Cecil[1], and the well known naval officer Sir Robert Mansell, having prepared certain laws for the better government of the Colony.

Gates left England in June and arrived about the fifth of August at Jamestown.

George Percy after Dale went to Henrico was left in command at Jamestown and wrote the following letter addressed

LETTER OF GEORGE PERCY.

"To the right Hono^{ble} my singular good Lord and Brother, the Earle of Northumberland.

Right Hono^{ble}

I am not ignorant, and cannot therefore be unmindfull in what I may so satisfie your Lo^{p} for your manifold and continuall cortesies w^{ch} I dayly, and at the aprotch of everie shipping do abundantly taste of, and I must

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ballad. The last news from Virginia, being an encouragement to all others to follow that noble enterprise." No copy of this ballad is known to exist.

[1] Sir Edward Cecil, K't, son of Thomas, Earl of Exeter. In 1603 Keeper of Mortlake Park. In 1605 went to the war in the Low Countries. In 1609 Keeper of Putney Park. In 1612 he went for Prince Henry as sponsor to the child of Count Ernest of Nassau. In 1616 he is in London where his first wife died, and in Nov., 1618, he married Diana, sister of Lord Burleigh, created Lord Wimbledon.

acknowledge freely that this last yere hath not bin a little chardgable into your Honor. who I hope will continue so noble and hono^{ble} opinion of me as you shall not think any thing prodigally by me wasted or spent w^{ch} tendeth to my no little advancement: True it is the place w^{ch} I hold in this Colonie (the store affording no other meanes than a pound of meale) cannot be defraied with small expense, it standing upon my reputation (being Governor of James Towne) to keep a continuall and dayly Table for Gentlemen of fashion about us, my request unto y^{r} Lo^{p} at this present is to intreate your Honnor to be highly pleased to dischardg a Bill of my hand made to Mr. Nellson, and likewise a Bill of eight pounds unto M^{r} Pindle Burie of Lond^{o} merchant, and I shall ever be in all humble dutie bound unto your Lo^{p}. And thus wishing all honnor and happines to accompanie you in this world, and eternal blisse in the other to come, I cease to be further vnneccessary troublesome vnto your Lo^{p} ever vowing myself and the vttermost of my services in all duty unto your Honnor and rest

Your Lordship's louinge brother

Virginia GEORGE PERCY.[1]

James Towne August 17, 1611.

[1] Percy was born Sept. 4, 1580 and was thirty-one years old when he wrote the above letter. His mother was Catherine, the eldest daughter of John Neville, Lord Latimer. His sister Lucy was fair and talented. Lord Hay afterward Earl of Carlisle gave an entertainment in her honor, but the Earl of Northumberland kept her in the Tower, for he said, "No Percy should dance Scotch jigs." Hay however persisted and about 1618 married her. Hay possessed great wealth, and by his influence Northumberland was at length permitted to leave the Tower. After he died his widow, as the Countess of Carlisle, became one of the most noted women in

Percy returned to England in 1612, it is supposed in the ship "Treasurer," Capt. Argull in command. He landed at Dover where he remained a few days, and then engaging post horses road to London. Finding that some one had published a relation of Virginia containing false statements, he wrote "A trew relation of the proceedinge, and occurrents of momente which have hapened in Virginia from the time when Sir Thomas Gates was shipwrackte upon the Bermudas, anno 1609, until my departure out of the countrie, which was in A. D. 1612." The narrative was dedicated to Lord Percy, and a fragment of it is still among the Percy MSS. at Petworth House[1], County Sussex, England.

diplomatic circles. She was the intimate friend of the Earl of Stafford and after he was beheaded, held confidential relations with John Pym the popular leader of Parliament, and at a later period she is counselling with General Monk as to the restoration of Charles the Second. Smith in his "New England Trials" published in 1620 mentions him as in England. In 1627 he was a captain of a troop in the Low Countries where he lost a finger, as his picture shows. He died in 1632, unmarried.

[1] The absence of Lord Leconfield, as the following note will show, has prevented the publication of this fragment, in Virginia Vetusta.

"Sept^{r} 28th, 1884.

"Sir: My absence from Petworth, an absence which will be extended till the end of Nov^{r}, or commencement of Dec^{r}, prevents my being able to comply with y'r request, until my return, as I have no one there whom I could employ to make the extracts you ask for, from the MSS. on Virginia dedicated to Lord Percy, without my personal directions. I trust that this delay, may not be a serious impediment to the work you have in hand.

"Iremain

"Y'rs faithfully,

"LECONFIELD."

CHAPTER IX.

AFFAIRS OF COMPANY, A.D. 1612.

THE CHARTER OF MARCH, 1611–12. KING'S COUNCIL FOR VIRGINIA. LETTER OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS. THE LOTTERIES. PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR. SOMERS ISLAND COMPANY.

THE discovery of Bermudas, made it important that there should be an alteration and enlargement of the Charter of 1609, and application was made for certain changes. A new charter dated March 12, 1611–12 was obtained, and the London Company were granted all islands between the thirtieth and forty-first degrees of north latitude, and within three hundred leagues of parts heretofore granted.

Provision was also made that five members of the King's Council for Virginia and fifteen members of the Company duly assembled should be a legal meeting.

As subscriptions by the towns and individuals had greatly decreased, the Company now depended upon a lottery for the support of their Colony in Virginia. The Mayors of the several towns were as far as possible inlisted in the enterprize. Among the manuscript records of the town of Sandwich is the following:

LETTER OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS ON THE LOTTERY.

"GENTLEMEN: I am required by his Ma^ties Counsel for Virginia, to call on you for the Twenty Five pounds w^ch long since y^u promised to adventure w^th them towards the farthering of that plantation. And have received from them a Bid of adventure under their seale to be delivered unto you upon paiement of that sum w'ch Bill I have sent you by M^r Parke, to be disposed accordingly.

"I am also in their names very earnestly to pray y^or furtherence toward the furnishing of a Lottarie lately granted to them by his Ma^tie. The use and nature thereof yo^u shall perceive by the proclamation concerning it which I have also sent. And M^r Mayor of Sandwich is particularly desired to receive & return such monies as men shall be disposed to adventure in it according to such instructions as are contained in a book sent to you for that purpose; presuming greatly of your affectionate rediness to aid & advance so worthie an enterprize tending so greatly to the enlargement of the Christian [religion], the honor of o^r nation & benefit of English people, as by God's assistance the sequell will in short tyme manifest. The example also hereof, now beneficiall in y^or best & most needfull occasions it may prove unto y^or selfs, I knowe in y^or wisdome y^u will easily see & consider.

"So w^th my very hartie salutations I comend y^u to the divine tuition, and rest

Northborn Y^r very loving friend,

8 April 1612 EDWIN SANDYS.

"To the Right wor^thie my very loving friends the Mayor & Jurates of Sandwich."

Before the last charter was officially promulgated, on February 24, 1611–12 there had been entered "A boke or thing called the Publicacon of the Lotary for Virginia,[1]" and it is to this Sandys alludes in his letter. On May 1, 1612, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, and Master Robert Johnson entered another book[2] entitled "The Lottarye's best prize declaring the former successe and present estate of Virginia's plantation."

A few days afterwards on the 16th of May, there was issued "A publicacon of his Maiesties Councell of Virginia touchinge the defrayinge of the Lotterye."

The first public drawing of prizes to the amount of £5,000 took place on the 29th of June in a new built house "at the west end of Pauls."[3] Out of the lottery there were drawn out and thrown away sixty thousand blanks, without abating of any one prize. By the 20th of July, the drawing was completed to the full satisfaction of all concerned. Thomas Sharplisse, a London tailor, drew the great prize, four thousand crowns in silver plate which was carried to his house "in a very stately manner."

Ogilby, whose son John was the author of a work on America, and a translation of Homer, was in prison for debt, and borrowing some money of his son, purchased a ticket, which drew a prize which enabled him to satisfy his creditors.[4]

The book entered on May 1, 1612, was published with the following title:

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[1] Arber's *Stationers' Hall Register.*

[2] Arber.

[3] Baker.

[4] Aubrey.

THE NEW LIFE of Virginea: DECLARING THE

FORMER SVCCESSE AND PRE-

sent eſtate of that plantation being the ſecond part of *Noua Britannia.*

Publiſhed by the authoritie of his Maieſties Counſell of *Virginea.*

LONDON,
Imprinted by *Felix Kyngston* for *William Welby*, dwelling at the ſigne of the Swan in Pauls Churchyard. 1612.

This book has a dedicatory epistle ostensibly written by R. J. (Robert Johnson). It contains language as to stage players almost the same as that in Crashaw's sermon. The book displays a great knowledge of history and it may have been composed by or under the supervision of Crashaw.

In allusion to the lottery it uses these words[1]: "Of all our adventures I may well say there is but one third part, which to their praise, from the first undertaking, to this day have not ceased to give their counsels, spend their times, and lay down their monies, omitting no occasion to express their zeal for effecting (if it may be possible) so great a work for the King and Country's honor. And for this cause, the burthen being heavier than may well be borne by the shoulders of so few willing minds we do still provoke our private friends and have now obtained the help of public lotteries to maintain the same."

It is mentioned in this volume that "Captain Samuel Argoll a gentleman of good service is ready with two ships." In September, he arrived at Jamestown.

Early in the year 1612, the Company published a book, which on December 13, 1611, had been entered by Sir Edward Cecil, Knight, the experienced General in the wars of the Low Countries as "Articles, lawes, and orders dyvyne, politique and martiall for the Colonye in Virginia, first established by Sir Thomas Gates, Knight and Leiftenant Generall to 24th of May, 1610, exemplyfied and approved by the Right Honourable Lord Delaware, Lord Governor and Captayne Generall the 12th of June

[1] The spelling is modernized.

1610, agayne exemplyfied and enlarged by Sir Thomas Dale Knighte Martiall and Deputy Governor the 22d of June 1611."

When printed the title was a little modified.

It was decided after the third charter was granted that the colonization of the Bermudas should be undertaken by only a portion of the members of the London Company.

In a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, Kt., Ambassador at Venice, on the 12th of February, 1612, John Chamberlain writes "There is a lotterie in hand for the furthering of the Virginia viage and a vnder companie erecting for the trade of the Bermudas, w^{ch} have changed theyre name twise within the moneth, being first christ'ned Virginiola as a member of that plantation, but now lastly resolued to be called Sommer Islands, as well in respect of the continuall temperat ayre, as in remembrance of S^{r} George Sommers that died there."

A little later Henry, Earl of Northampton[1] writes to his "Most excellent, most gratiouse, most redoubted and deer Soueraine" that "Another Companie are in like sorte advertized of the safe arriuall of their shippes in the Bermudas."

Eventually, for two thousand pounds the London Company sold out their interest in Bermudas, and on the 29th of June, 1615, King James granted a separate charter to the *Governor and Company of the City of London for the plantation of the Somer Islands.*

[1] An abstract of this letter is on p. 54, *History of the Virginia Company* and by mistake attributed to Earl of Southampton.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LATER CAREER OF CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, SIR THOMAS DALE, SIR THOMAS GATES, CAPTAIN SAMUEL ARGALL, AND CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

EDWARD HOWES the chronicler, wrote[1]: "Captain Newport seeing the necessary yearly supplies for the plantation not to proceed as was required for so honorable an action, he left the service, being chosen one of the Six Masters of Navy Royal."

He was employed by the East India Company to command the ship which carried Sir Robert Shirley as Ambassador to Persia, and on June 20, 1613, was at Saldanha. His wife remained in England. The next year he returned and at a meeting of the East India Company in August, 1614, he was much commended, and the next month it was ordered that he should be rewarded for his discoveries in the Persian Gulf. In view of another voyage, in November, Newport wished a salary of £240 a year, but a committee said "Let him rest awhile and be advised to bethink himself for a short time." It was arranged in January, 1614–15, that he was to have upon the next voyage £15 a month, and that he was not

[1] *Annals London*, 1631.

to trade. On the 16th of May, 1617, he was with the ship "Lion," at Saldanha ready to sail for Britain. In 1618 he was at Bantam, in command of the "Hope." He died in the East Indies and left a son named John. At a meeting of the Virginia Company on the 17th of November, 1619, the following minute[1] was made: "Wheras the Company hath fomerly granted to Captain Newport a bill of adventure for 400 pounds, and his son now desiring order from this Court, for laying out some part of the Same, M[r] Treasurer was authorized to write to Sir. George Yeardley and the Counsell of State for affecting thereof."

Sir Thomas Dale.

Upon the recommendation of King James, after the return of Sir Thomas Dale, the Netherlands paid him his salary, £100, for the time of his seven years absence in Virginia. Sir Dudley Carleton, the representative of England at the Hague, wrote to Lake, one of the King's Secretaries, "Hears that he [Dale] left the States service the very day of the receipt of his money *sans dire adieu*, it being given out that he is employed into the East Indies by the King's command. Shall gladly receive some civil excuse, the Kings men being interested both in Sir Thomas Dale's good treatment by the States, and in his ill-manner of leaving their service."

Dale had married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton, Kt., of Tatworth, Gloucestershire, and brother of Sir William Throckmorton, Kt., and Baronet.

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[1] *History of Virginia Company*, p. 164.

The latter was a member of the East India Company and through him Dale applied for employment. On the 8th of October, 1617, there was a discussion at a meeting of the East India Company as to the relative merits of Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Thomas Dale, and Capt. William Parker, suitors for the place of chief commander of their fleet, and on the 28th of November, Dale was appointed chief at an annual salary of £480, and Parker second in command, at a salary of £320.

Before the ships sailed, Dale was "informed how distastefully the Company take his employing his money in private trade in the Indies contrary to his promise and bond." Early in 1618 the fleet left, and on the 23d of December was at Jacatra, and on the 2d of the next January had an engagement with the Dutch fleet, which lasted three hours. Dale calls it "a cruel, bloody fight three thousand great shot fired." In July, 1619, he arrived at Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast very sick. He was brought ashore to the East India Company's house and after twenty days, "with contempt of death," he ceased to breathe, and a letter to the East India Company mentioned that his body "was enclosed and housed in form of a tomb." He was succeeded by Captain Martin Pring.

Just before he left England, February 20, 1617–18, he made his will, and left all his estate to his wife, and appointed "Sir William Throckmorton, Kt. and Bart., his loving brother in law" an overseer of the will.

In reply to a demand of Lady Dale, the East India Company on November 4, 1623, replied "The Court did

not a little wonder at the unreasonable pretences of Lady Dale and were sorry that they had done her any courtesy, and in letting her have the silk that came home on her husband's account.

"It was said she reports that her husband took £20,000 out of a Chinese junk, but if it were taken it belongs to the Company who employed him; also that he carried his estate in money, but the contrary appears at his going, for he was so ill provided, he was forced to borrow £100 of the Company; and if he had not accepted when he did, the Company would not have employed him at all, the ships being ready to depart without him; it was affirmed that many were so little desirous he should go that they offered him £100 to stay, but an honourable Lord, his friend, had promised him to go." Lady Dale[2] died childless, in 1640, and by her will she directed her debts should be paid out of her estate in the hands of the East India Company. To her niece Dorothy Throckmorton, she left five hundred acres of land in Virginia; to W. Hamby, son of Richard, all her land in Charles Hundred, and to Richard another son of Richard, her lands in Sherley Hundred in Virginia.[3]

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[1] The statement on p. 77, *History of Virginia Company*, that Dale was twice married, is a mistake.

[2] Captain Conway whose first wife was a cousin of Lady Dale, on July 1, 1623, wrote to his father, Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State to thank him for having procured from the King a request to the Navy Commissioner, to obtain for the widow of Sir Thomas Dale the lease of an estate in the hands of the East India Company. Note in *Aspinwall Papers*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., Vol. 9, IV. Ser. p. 59.

[3] Henry Watkins, an overseer of Lady Dale's lands, in 1624 was killed by the Indians.

Sir Thomas Gates.

The wife of Sir Thomas Gates died 1611, while on the way to Virginia, and he sent his daughters back the same year. In 1614 he left Virginia, and appears to have passed most of his remaining years in London. He was present at the meeting of the Virginia Company on February 2, 1619–20, at the house of Sir Edwin Sandys near Aldgate, when the patent to John Peirce was sealed, under which the Puritans of Leyden migrated to Plymouth Rock. He frequently served on committees. Sir Dudley Digges in 1621, while sojourning at Amsterdam, in a letter to the English ambassador at the Hague, sends his "love to the honest Sir Tho's Gates." He was born at Colyford, Devonshire, but the place of his death is not certain.[1] He had two sons. Thomas served in 1626 at Cadiz, and in 1627 at Isle of Rhé or Rochelle, where he was killed by a cannon ball, Anthony died before 1637 but his widow was then living. His daughters Mary and Elizabeth, in a petition in the Calendar of State Papers, mention that "they were destitute of means to relieve their wants."

Captain Samuel Argall.

Captain Samuel Argall returned to England in 1619, under a cloud. Camden writes: "Samuel Argallus qui Virginiæ gubernator, Societatis accusatus depredationis repetundarum turbarum et Reipublicæ male administratæ, et subaudi vexillum contra Hispanos explicasse."

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[1] Stith, and *History of Virginia Company*, mention that he died in the East Indies, which is an error.

He had not been long in London before he sought employment from the East India Company, but did not succeed. Under Sir Robert Mansell in October, 1620, he went as captain of the "Golden Phœnix" in the fleet against Algiers. In December, 1621, he again proposed to enter the service of the East India Company; "some exception was taken to him, but his reputation was left untouched only the Court conceived a mere marine man would be of best use to the Company, and would be best obeyed." In 1622 he was knighted by King James. Under Sir Edward Cecil he was captain of the flag ship, the "Surprize" in October, 1625, before Cadiz, and died in January, 1626.[1] His daughter Anne married Samuel Purcevall.

Captain John Smith.

Captain John Smith, after he was sent to England to answer some misdemeanors, never received employment from the London Company. In April, 1614, two ships from London arrived at the "isle of Monahiggan," the Master of one of which was Captain Hunt, and of the other Michael Cooper. Smith accompanied them. On the 5th of August, he had returned to London, and four ships more were sent out under Cooper. Smith had some disagreement with the owners and in the "Description of New England alludes to it in these words: "Although they do censure me as opposite to their proceedings, they shall yet still in all my words and deeds find it is their error, not my fault that occasions their dislike." He never saw the coast of America after this year.

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[1] For other notices see *History of Virginia Company.*

In 1618 he sent to Lord Bacon, always anxious to make money, a letter, with a "Description of New England," which contained these sentences: "I desyre y^{or} Honor would be pleased to grace me with the title of y^{or} L'ds servant. Not that I desyre to stand vpp the rest of my dayes in the chamber of ease and idleness, but that thereby I may be better countenanced for the prosecution of my voyage."

Bacon may have listened to his proposition. In the *Fortescue Papers* there is a letter from Robert, Lord Rich, the new Earl of Warwick[1] dated Dec. 11, 1618, in which are these words "We cannot yet hear of Capt. Smith but my Lord Chancellor and I have written to Sir F. Gorges and Sir Thomas Marke to stay his bark and himself."

From this period he lived seeking a patron but with little success, and in 1626 published his "True Travels, Adventures and Observations" a most entertaining work, which was read as much as the adventures of Thomas Coryat[2] who in 1618 had died.

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[1] Created in 1618, and died in March, 1618–19.

[2] Coryat in 1608 walked over France, Germany and Italy in one pair of shoes, which upon his return were hung up in the church at Odcombe. In 1611 he published an account of his travels with the title "Coryat's Crudities." The book was prefaced by sixty pieces of "mock commending verses" by Ben Jonson and other poets. In 1612 after a speech in the street, at Odcombe, he started on a ten years ramble, and in 1617 died at Surat. He did not cut off three Turks' heads, as one who seems to have stepped in his shoes, but he wrote "that he saw men have their eyes pulled out and their tongues cut off, which before an idol were speedily returned again." After his death, a friend wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton that he had

On the 21st of June, 1631, he died and was buried at St. Sepulchres Church in London, which stood next to the old ruin with the sign of the Saracen's Head. In his last days Sir Samuel Saltonstall, Kt., had befriended him. Wye the son of Samuel, an Oxford graduate, in 1635, published a translation of *History of the World* by Hondius and placed therein a portrait of Captain John Smith.

"left enough written to fill the world with new relations; and to have made any printer an alderman."

CHAPTER X.

TRANSPORTATION OF THE WORTHLESS: AND POOR CHILDREN TO VIRGINIA.

FROM the beginning of the plantation in Virginia it had been the policy of the Company to send thither poor children, and those of age who did not stand well in England. Among the papers of William, Lord Howard, published by the Surtees Society is this memorandum:

"His Maiestie propounded at New Castle that such as weare now to be transplanted should be sent to Virginia. Transplantation weare not necessary of all such as have been known heretofore to have been offenders, as nowe are suspected to be actor, rece'etors, or abettors: that the service might be sincerely put in execution, which formerly hath not been, but barbarous offenders have been winked at, and innocent soules either out of private spleene, or for greedy gaine have been sent awaie.

"Such a service partially performed is not pleasing to God, acceptable to his Majestie, or beneficiall to this countrie. An account is desired of 500*l* collection of the countrie for the last transportation was bestowed."

There is no doubt that the sending away of some to Virginia led to their moral reformation, and their becom-

ing ornaments and blessings to the Colony. Among the English State Papers are found these notices.

At the Privy Council Chamber, White Hall on the 13th of July, 1617 there was issued "an open warrant for the reprieve of Christopher Potley, Roger Powell, Sapcot Molineux, Thomas Middleton and Thomas Crouchley prisoners in Oxford Goal, and to deliver them unto Sir Thomas Smyth, Kt. to be transported to Virginia or other parts beyond the seas."

At Hampton Court, the last of September, 1617, there was granted "an open warrant for the reprieving of James Knott[1] out of the prison of Newgate, being convict of felony and to deliver him to Sir Thomas Smith," etc.

Bridget Gray on July 19, 1618, informed the Privy Council that her grandson, John Throckmorton, was in Newgate for stealing a hat worth six shillings, his first offense, that he had been incited by Robert Whisson, an old thief who had been hanged and she begs that he may be delivered to Sir Thomas Smith and be sent beyond the seas.[2]

In September, 1622, John Carter, a poor distressed prisoner convicted of stealing a horse, asks to be sent to Virginia, and this year Eleanor Phillips agreed to take

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[1] Knott arrived when he was about eighteen years of age in the ship George, and became the servant of Charles Harmon, a trader on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, and member of Virginia Assembly.

[2] A John Throckmorton about eighteen years of age, in 1618 arrived in Virginia, in the ship "William and Thomas."

to Virginia at her own charges one Dan. Francke, a reprieved malefactor.[1]

On the 13th of January, 1618–19, the King writes from New Market to Sir Thomas Smith "that the Count had lately been troubled with divers idle young people, who though twice punished, still continued to follow the same employment. His Majesty having no other course to cleanse the country from them had thought fit to send them to him, if they might be sent to Virginia, and set to work there."[2]

The proceedings of the Virginia Company show that the Colonists were willing to receive these persons.[3]

Capt. John Damyron of the ship "Duty" brought over a number of these, and George Sandys in one of his letters alludes to the "Duty boys" who had been put to work.

Stith, the President of William and Mary College, and Historian of Virginia, writes[4] "And I cannot but remark how early that custom arose of transporting loose and

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[1] At this time there was also a disposition to kidnap girls.—On the 13th of Nov., 1618, Francis Prewe, a constable, deposed that Owen Evans, a messenger of the Chamber, ordered him to impress maidens. John Watts also testified that Evans gave him ten shillings to press four maidens for Virginia.

[2] Luttrell in his Diary under date of November, 1692, writes: "That a ship lay in Leith going for Virginia, on board which the Magistrates had ordered 50 lewd women out of the houses of correction, and 30 other who walked the streets after 10 at night."

[3] *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 154, 162, 169.

[4] *History of Virginia.* Printed by William Parks, Williamsburg, 1748, p. 168.

dissolute persons to Virginia, as a place of punishment and disgrace, which although orginally designed for the advancement and increase of the Colony, yet has certainly proved a great prejudice and hindrance to its growth. For it hath laid one of the finest countries in British North America, under the unjust scandal of being a Hell upon Earth, another Siberia, and only fit for the reception of malefactors and the vilest of the people."

CHAPTER XI.

AFFAIRS OF THE NORTHERN COLONY.

VOYAGE OF EDWARD BRAWNDE. PURITAN COLONISTS INTENDED FOR THE SOUTHERN COLONY, SETTLE AT PLYMOUTH, MASS.

THE Northern or Second Colony of Virginia, only excited an interest among a few persons in and around Plymouth, England. In August, 1607, a Colony was begun at the mouth of the Kennebec River, but the next spring was abandoned.

After the return of these colonists to England, several years passed without any effort to settle in the northern plantation, although voyages were frequently made to procure fish.

In 1614, Capt. John Smith visited the north Atlantic coast, and from Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his few associates obtained the title of Admiral of New England, although he never again reached that coast.

In 1615, Sir Richard Hawkins was appointed by the Council of the second Colony, President of the plantation, and left for his post in October of that year.

Among the Cottonian MSS. of the British Museum, is the following report of Capt. Edward Brawnde, which was discovered by the writer several years ago. Owing to the original having been injured by a fire, which occurred one hundred and fifty years since, some lines are partially

destroyed. It was probably written in 1616, and directed "to his worthye good friend Captayne John Smith, admerall of New England."

BRAWNDE'S VOYAGE TO KENNEBEC.

"We had a conuenent wind to Manhegin —— for it pleased God to derictt him there ——— and after hauinge ended his voyage in ——— departted the harbor of Manhegin the 22 July ——— there was another ship called the Blessing of ——— whereof one Arther hitchens was Mr wichh departed out of plim [outh] last of January and havinge a contrery passedge did not arive ——— the country before the first of Maye or the last of Aprill and si ——— wasted her salt was a means of hendering of her voyage she cam ——— the country the 22 of July bounde for England and arived the 27 of August.

And a shipp called the daved of Plimouth whereof one John Mintren Master being of the burthen of 120 tunnes and departed out of plimouth about ——— ———the midds of February and ariued into the countrye about the 5 or 6 daye of Aprell, she hath made a good voyage and departed the countrye the 21 of July bound for England and ariued in Plimouth the first of September.

There was also a shipp of London called the ——, of the burthen of 200 whereof one Edward Brawnde was M'r wich departed outt of darttmouth the 8 of Marche and fell in with Sodquin the 20 of Aprell & was harboured in Manhegin the 24 of Aprell and hauing his boatts detayned by Sir R'd Hookins was constrayned to build all his boats & having great store of trade his voyage was

very much damnified, yett eusing his best endeavor he and his companye made wth in litell of anny voyage. * * * * * —— M'r Brawnde came out of Manhegin the 21 of July and left his pinness in the countrye being bound about Cape Cod for the discovery of sertayne perell wich is told by the Sauvages to be there.

M'r Brawnde arived there the 28 of August———— ———— the admerall arrived into England—— Auguste, the other arrived about the 5 or 6 of September.—

To all whome this doth concerne, this is to be sertifyed —— Ther ar greet voyages to be made in New Englande upon fish take the times of the yeere and likewise upon ferrs so far as [they] be not spoyled by the meanes of towe many factors ther. * * * I dow engage myselfe and men to loade a shippe of 200 betweene the first of Marche and the [The letter here, in sentences nearly destroyed, states that a ship commanded by Wm. West arrived, and also the *Triall* at a later period.] midds of June, for in Marche Aprill and Maye is the best time of making of drye ffsh. A shippe that will carye 400,000 New Friesland fyshe will nott carye above 7 or 8 score from New Englande.

the countrye is good and a healthhye clemett. for ought that I can se or understand the sauveges area gentell natured peopell and frequent the Englishe vere much. the countrye is worthye of prayes and if I were of abbilitye and able to venture I would venture that waye as soone as ayne waye in anye countrye that yieldeth such comodityes as that doth. though my meanes be not able to venture yet my life and labour is willing and

industrious att the uttmost of my power.

The Mr is	Edward Braund
his chief mate	John Bennett
The second mate	Briane Tocker
The owner 'o' shippe	William Treedell
The M'rchantt	John Edwards
The bosone	John hille
The gonner and pilott his matt	William Gayneye James Farre
The bosone's matt	John downe
The quarter m'rter's is	Nicholas Collins Thomas Weber John Barrens Hennery Batteshill
The steward	John Brinnelcome
The cooks,	Nicholas Head & John Hutten

Some of the comen mens names are

John Wiles
Phillip Wiles
Thomas Roberts
John Hept
Thomas Tobbe

I hope I need not writt enye more of my mens names.

So I end comending all wishes and good adventures in thïs voyage to pr'tection of the Almighty I rest

Your loving friend
EDWARD BRAWNE."

To his worthye good frend
Captayne John Smith
admerall of New England

Sir Richard Hawkins[1] (Hookins) alluded to in the report did not remain long on the coast, but writes Gorges: "From thence he passed along the coast to Virginia, and stayed there some time, and took his next course for Spain."

Sir William Alexander in 1624, writes, that "about four years [ago] a ship going for Virginia came by chance to harbor in the south-west part of New England." This was the ship sent out by John Pierce and associates under a patent sealed February 2, 1619–20, by the London Company, and containing the Puritan[2] colonists from Leydon.[3] Gorges referring to the landing of the Puritans at Plymouth Rock, mentions that "after they had well considered the state of their affairs, and found that the authority they had from the Company of Virginia could not warrant their abode in that place which they found so prosperous and pleasing to them, took steps to obtain a grant from the Council of New England.[4]

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[1] Son of Sir John. In 1599 was a prisoner in Spain having been captured in South American waters. After his release was Vice-Admiral of County Devon. In 1615 made President of North Colony.

[2] It was complained that Sir Edwin Sandys was too favorable to the Puritans. In the Manchester Papers there is a MS. note that Sir Edwin Sandys was opposed to monarchical government in general, and had moved the Archbishop of Canterbury "to give leave to the Brownists and Separatists to go to Virginia and designed to make a free popular State there, and himself and his assured friends to be the leaders."

[3] *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 129, 130.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 133.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR YEARDLEY.

MEETING OF FIRST LEGISLATURE. INTRODUCTION OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

GEORGE Yeardley was the first person elected Governor of Virginia who had actual experience as a planter. He was "a soldier truly bred in the University of War in the Low Countries," and in 1610 arrived in the "Deliverance," at Jamestown, with Gates and Somers, and proved himself loyal to the King and true to the interests of the Colony. He was first placed in command of a stockade near the site of Fortress Monroe, and in 1616 when Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, acted as Governor until Argall arrived in 1617 duly commissioned. He visited England in 1618 with his wife, who in 1609 had come to Virginia, and brought back evidences of his personal prosperity. Pory writes to a friend, that "the Governor here who at his first coming, besides a great deal of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him, was at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his mere gettings here, able to disburse very near three thousand pounds to furnish him with the voyage."

The presence of such a person in London, when the intelligence came that Lord Delaware had died on his

return to Virginia, led the merchants of the Company wisely to choose him, as the next Governor. It was a disappointment to the office seekers around the court eagerly waiting for the crumbs of patronage, and a letter written because the new Governor had been a poor officer, and brother of Ralph Yeardley, the Apothecary at the sign of the Artichoke in Wood Street, called him a "mean fellow" who after his appointment, and being knighted, flaunted it "up and down the street in extraordinary bravery, with fourteen or fifteen liveries after him." Whatever may have been the motive, this walking about the streets of London called the attention of the populace to Virginia, and promoted immigration.

While elected in November, 1618, he did not sail from the Thames until the following January, and owing to adverse weather, it was the 19th of April, before the ship reached Jamestown. Measures were soon taken in accordance with his instructions, to convene the first assembly of legislators in North America, consisting of two Burgesses from each plantation, freely elected by the people.

While the majority of the colonists with difficulty earned their bread, yet a few had accumulated more than enough for daily subsistence, and there was manifested the disposition of vulgar, prosperous people, for display. Pory the speaker of the first Legislature, wrote soon after its adjournment to Sir Dudley Carleton: "Your Lordship may know that we are not the veriest beggars in the World. One cow keeper here in James City, on Sunday goes accoutred in fresh, flaming silk, and a wife of one, that in England had professed the black art, not of a scholar, but a collier of Croyden, wears her rough beaver

hat with a fair pearl hat-band, and a silken suit thereto correspondent."

If half of the witty Pory's words were true, it was good policy for the Legislature which convened in July, 1619, to enact "that every man be cessed in the churches for all public contributions, if he be unmarried according to his own apparel; if he be married, according to his own, wife's, or either of their apparel." During the first five months of Yeardley's administration eleven ships arrived at Jamestown, "freighted more with ignorance than any other merchandize."

The Introduction of Negro Slaves.

When Argall, a friend and kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, in 1618, hastily returned from Virginia, Camden, and others, heard it whispered that he had sent a ship to the Spanish West Indies on an errand not commendable. This ship was the "Treasurer" Captain Daniel Elfrid[1], and had been sent to Argall when he was Governor, by the Earl of Warwick, and it had been despatched to the West Indies from Jamestown "ostensibly for salt and goats," but it brought back negroes and booty.[2] It roved in company with a Holland vessel, under Capt. Kerby that had a letter of marque from the Prince of Orange. The Captains of these two ships came back from the Spanish West Indies, to Virginia in the summer of 1619, and Rolfe as quoted by Smith, writes "About the last of August came in a Dutch man of war that sold us twenty negroes." Upon September 30, 1619, while this Dutch

[1] Also written Elfrith and Elfreys.

[2] See Appendix.

ship was at Jamestown, John Pory, Secretary of the Colony, wrote to Dudley Carleton : " The occasion of this ship's coming hither was an accidental consortship in the West Indies with the Treasurer, an English man of warre, also licensed by a Commission from the Duke of Savoye to take Spaniards as lawful prize. This ship, the Treasurer went out of England in April was twelvemoneth, [1618] about a moneth I thinke, before any peace was concluded between the King of Spaine & that prince. Hither she came to Captaine Argall, then governour of this Colony, being parte owner of her. Hee more for love of gaine, the root of all evil, then for any true love he bore this Plantation victualled and maned her anewe, and sent her with the same Commission to rauage the West Indies."

The Flemish ship of war sailed from Jamestown for England, Marmaduke Rayner[1], an Englishman, being its pilot. On its way to Virginia it had touched at the Bermudas and Capt. Kerby presented fourteen negroes to Governor Kendall in return for supplies.

The "Treasurer" reached the Bermudas toward the close of 1619, and John Dutton, a kinsman, writes to the Earl of Warwick[2] that it brought twenty-nine negroes

[1] Marmaduke Rayner was well known in Virginia and had made an exploration in North Carolina.—*History of Virginia Company*, pp. 175, 220, 402.

[2] Sir Robert Rich, the first Earl of Warwick, was already under suspicion of doing questionable things for the sake of money. Two of his ships trading near the Red Sea, surprised and took a vessel belonging to the mother of the Great Mogul. Capt. Martin Pring General of the East India Company's fleet, took the prize away from

from Virginia, and mentions: "It was Capt. Argall's unwarranted boldness to use his Lordship's name, as a bolster to his unwarrantable actions."

The "Treasurer" being no longer sea-worthy, Smith writes "stark rotten," the crew were here dismissed and the cannon taken out. Governor Butler was told by some of the sailors that half of the fourteen negroes left by the Dutch ship "were never of the Treasurer's company, but were stolen from one Youpe a Dutchman." Butler wrote to the Earl of Warwick that as many "of the Treasurers people" as visited it were allowed to go home, but that they were "dangerous tongued fellows" and had "given out secretly that if they were not paid to their utmost penny of wages, they would go to the Spanish Ambassador, and tell all."

As soon as Governor Yeardley arrived as Argall's successor in Virginia, he wrote to Sir Edwin Sandys, the head of the London Company, that it was supposed that the "Treasurer" had "gone to rob the King of Spain's subjects in the West Indies by direction from my Lord of Warwick."

The information was presented to the King's Council for Virginia, who after deliberation determined to blot out the name of the Earl of Warwick; and Sir Edwin

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the captors, brought it to Surat and restored it to the owner. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Feb. 19, 1619, wrote to Sir Thomas Roe, about Lord Rich having been before the King and Council relative to his piratical ships in the East Indies and uses these words: "I think he was so handled amongst us, that you shall hear no more of him there."—*Cat. State Papers East India Series,* 1619–21, p. 248.

Sandys, Earl of Southampton and Sir Nathaniel Rich, a relation of the Earl of Warwick, went with the case to the Privy Council, but through the influence of Warwick the business was dismissed without prejudice to Argall, but in the Spring of 1620[1], the Company received another letter from Governor Yeardley informing them that the "Treasurer" had returned to Virginia, and "having cold entertainment they soon departed in a very distressed state, leaving one principal member of their company, a master's mate or lieutenant behind them, which man the Governor there examined upon his oath, who though it were to the endangering of his own life, confessed that they had been robbing the Spaniard in the West Indies."

Sir Edwin Sandys, as soon as he received this communication, called together the Council of the Virginia Company and recommended that information should be given to the Privy Council, and also to the Spanish Ambassador. The result was much ill feeling upon the part of Warwick toward Sandys, which was for a time allayed, and it was proposed that "all parties anyways interested in these differences particularly L. Sou [thampton] my L. W [arwick] Sir Ed. S [andys]" and others should "at some church in London, receive the communion together in confirmation of mutual accord."

The negroes of the "Treasurer" were a cause of trouble as late as 1623. In *Lefroy's Bermudas* is the following order of Governor Harrison to the Sheriff:

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[1] These statements are found in *Appendix to Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.*

"Whereas there hathe byn a cause determined before the councell touching 14 negroes, to be brought & reladed to Cap^tain^ Daniell Elfrey & the seamen of his Company. W^ch^ negroes are not yet disposed of according to the councells direc̄ons in that behalfe. Theise are therefore to require you that ymediatly after the receipt hereof you inquire and make diligent searche for all those negroes that belong vnto the Earle of Warwicke w^ch^ have byn brought into theis parts by Capt. Kerby and Cap^tain^ Elfrey, and there found, to cause to be disposed accordinge to the councells said determynacon for the generallity & the seamen of Capt. Elfreys said Company."

In Virginia, in 1625, there had been no increase in the number of negroes.

VIRGINIA SLAVEHOLDERS, FEBRUARY, 1625.

OWNER	PLACE	NEGROES
Capt. W. Pierce	Jamestown	Angelo, woman, from ship "Treasurer"
Sir George Yeardley	"	Five men
" " "	"	Three women
Richard Kingswell	"	Edward
Abraham Piersey		Four men
Edward Bennett	Wariscoyak	Antonio and Mary
Capt. Francis West	Elizabeth City	John Pedro
" William Tucker	" "	Anthony, wife Isabel, and child William.
		Total of "Negros" 20.

[1] Kendall went to England and claimed, that the negroes had been given to him, in return for supplies furnished Kerby. "About

SHIPS FOR VIRGINIA, 1620–21.

During Yeardley's administration, the Earl of Southampton, as Governor of the London Company, issued a statement of three printed pages, called

"A note of the shipping and provisions sent and provided for Virginia by the Earl of Southampton and the Company, this year 1620."[1]

Between August, 1620, and March 1620–21, the Company had sent out the ships "Bona Nova," the "Elizabeth," the "May Flower," the "Supply of Bristol," the "Margaret and John," and the "Abigail."

The "May Flower" Capt. Thomas Jones, did not reach the southern Colony, but landed its Leyden and Puritan immigrants in the north Colony. The "Margaret and John" called by sailors the "Black Hodge" was of 160 tons burthen, and carried eight iron cannon and a falcon. She sailed for Virginia, Anthony Chester, Captain, early in February, 1619–20, with eighty passengers. Near an isle in the Spanish West Indies on March 19, 1620–21, it had a fight with two Spanish men of war; and Dr. Lawrence Bohun, the physician of the Colony, returning to Virginia, was killed.

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midsummer in 1622" the Somers Island Company "taking consideration of the wrong done to Captain Kendall; and the Earl of Warwick referring the claim to the judgment of the Court, it was ordered that nine of said negroes should be delivered to Captain Kendall, and the rest to be consigned to the Companys' use." Notwithstanding this, the Earl of Warwick wrote to his agent, not to deliver the negroes, and the restitution was deferred.

[1] Year O. S. ending March 24, 1620–21.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNOR WYATT'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE MASSACRE. SICKNESS AND FAMINE. LETTERS OF GEORGE SANDYS. LADY WYATT. WILLIAM CAPPS.

AT his own request Governor Yeardley was relieved[1], and in October, 1621, Sir Francis Wyatt[2], his successor, arrived at Jamestown.

During the first year of his term of office the Colony increased in prosperity. Of the nine ships sent out in 1621–22, with eight hundred passengers, all arrived safely, but one; and for the one who died on the voyage, there was one birth. Steps were taken to reduce the excessive planting of tobacco, and improve its quality; an order was given for the raising of corn. Iron works under the supervision of John Berkely of Beverstone Castle, Gloucestershire, were established at Falling Creek, where, wrote

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[1] A petition was sent to the King's Council for Virginia from many of the first personal adventurers and planters, willing and ready to prepare themselves to go there again with families, suggesting that a nobleman like the late Lord De la Warr might be sent as Governor. It was signed by Sir Thos. Gates, Capt. Francis West, Samuel Argall, Daniel Tucker, Robert Beheathland, Laurence Bohun, Roger Smith, and Ensign James Swift.

[2] Notice of Wyatt, see *History of Virginia Company*, p. 204.

George Sandys, "Nature had applied herself to the wish and direction of the workmen."

But adversity soon clouded this prosperity. The Indians on the 22d of March, 1621–22, suddenly attacked the white settlements, and killed about three hundred and fifty of the Colonists, and among others John Berkeley, George Thorpe and Nathaniel Powell, valuable men.

Plantations were deserted through fear, and the next year but little attention was given to raising the necessaries of life, and the survivors were desponding and disposed to murmur. The new immigrants who arrived were not properly clothed, nor provided with subsistence, and in a few months many were on the verge of starvation.

George Sandys, the treasurer of the Colony, wrote to Deputy Ferrar that Sir William Newce[1] in October, 1622, had come "with a very few of weak and unservicable people, ragged, and with not above a fortnight's provision, some bound for three years, a few for five, and most, upon wages." Newce died in a short time, and Sandys mentions that for the five men which should have been delivered to him, he was glad to receive "a page dead, before delivered, and "another little boy hardly worth his victuals."

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[1] Newce had served as a captain against the Spaniards at Kinsale, and was one of the English colonists in Ireland. Captain Sir William Newce was in 1613 chosen the first Mayor of Bandon. He laid out a town opposite Bandon called Newce's Town and the conjecture that Newport, Va. was first called Newce's Port may be true. In April, 1621, he offered to plant a Colony in Virginia. His relative, Thomas Newce, was a Councillor, and he was Marshal of Virginia.

The wife of Governor Wyatt, Margaret, the daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys[1], and niece of the treasurer of the Colony, came to Virginia in the ship "Abigail," which with the "Furtherance" cast anchor about the beginning of the year 1623, before Jamestown. In a letter dated April 4, 1623, she wrote to a sister: "That the ship in which she had gone over had been so pestered with people and goods * * * so full of infection, that after a while they saw little but throwing folks overboard." The ship was so full that she could not have a cabin to herself. The "Captain seemed to be troubled at it, and laid all the fault on the two Mr. Ferrars, and to make the people amends, died himself. The beer stunk so" she could not "endure the deck, for it."

Capt. Each, of the "Abigail," had contracted with the London Company "to lay his ship near Blunt Point, and before the end of March [1623] erect upon the oyster banks a block house that should forbid the passage of any ship higher up the river."

In a letter to his father, George Wyatt, the Governor, wrote that it would have been impossible to build the fort upon the oyster bank, and if even "there had been in

[1] Governor Wyatt's wife in a few months returned to England. Chamberlain, on June 19, 1623, writes, "The Lady Wyat, daughter as I take it to Lord Samuel Sandys is returned from Virginia great with child, and Mrs. Percy [Pierce or Piersey?] in her company." He also mentioned that "an unruly son of the Lady Finch's whom she sent to Virginia to be trained fell into quarrel with the watch, and was so hurt he died the next morning." Governor Wyatt's mother was named Finch, and John, the third son of Sir Moyle Finch, died about this time.

the ship men of sufficient skill, the great charge of the ship would have eaten [the Colonists] up to the bone, being 160*l* a month. It pleased the Company to propose the [return] freight of the ship to be made by transporting 64,000 lbs of tobacco, whereas in truth there was not made so much throughout the Colony. The Governor, vexed at the Company's requirements, wished that "little M[r] Farrar[1] were in Virginia that he might add to his zeal, a knowledge."

Among the arrivals, early in 1623, were surgeon William Rowsley (Rowesley) and wife and ten men, who on July 3, 1622, had received a patent, but in a short period, all were dead. Capt. Thomas Barwick[2] who was sent over with twenty-five men to build ships, had died, with six or seven of his best workmen. Capt. William Norton who had been sent out in 1621 by the Company to erect glass works with the aid of some Italians, had also failed. George Sandys had been appointed by the Company to oversee the works in case of Norton's death and he wrote to Ferrar of the Italian workmen that "a more damned crew Hell never vomited." Vincenzio had cracked the furnace with an iron crowbar, and the workmen were making but little progress, in order to be sent back to England.

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[1] Nicholas Ferrar, on May 22, 1622, had been elected Deputy Treasurer of the London Company.

[2] Barwick had been with Newport in the East Indies and in 1619 in a fight with the Hollanders, a letter written insinuates that he gave up the ship "Bear" either "out of cowardliness or sincerity of religion." Sir Thomas Roe alludes to him as "M[r] Barwick, Admirall of two good ships the "Bear and Star."

Samuel Wrote, a prominent member of the London Company, received the following letter from George Sandys, which is given in full.[1]

LETTER OF GEORGE SANDYS.

"Noble S^r^ I am almost ashamed that I have left yo^r^ l're unanswered thus longe but a bodie languishinge, well nigh unto death and a mynd distracted and broken with ill successes here and hard censures at home have disabled me from all dutyes but those w^ch^ necessitie inforceth. But now I thanke God I have recovered my health and a litle cured my thoughtes with the balme of my Innocencee resolving to strive against theis Torrents of difficultyes till I passe them over or bee swallowed up by them, rather in that I wilbe constant to my Course then out of anie hope to gaine reputac̄on or satisfie your concepcons. For their affections to this Plantac̄on hath so over hightned everie thinge that it is impossible for our Indevours to give it that lustre w^ch^ must needes redound to the disgrace of us and will I feare to the prejudice of the Collonie *I would to God that some one of judgment and integritie whom you trusted might bee sent ov^r^ to give you a true information of our proceedings* and the state of this Countrye. If then it be found that wee are faultie let the censure and punishment light upon the ill deserver for my owne part I will desire no favour. But if our *want of meanes* have frustrated yo^r^ hopes or the hand of God by extreame sicknes and unheard of mortalitie hath prevented

[1] Copied at my request by Mr. W. Noel Sanisbury, from the originals in the Manchester Papers at His Majesty's Public Record Office.

our Indevors or *if wee have beene enforced by some of yo*r *Instructions to goe contrarie to o*r *Judgments* If wee should imploy our owne or the Servantes of others (w^ch^ would never bee endured) for future expectacons, how in the meane time shall they be fed and clothed or how shall wee give a satisfaction to their maisters. It is not a *small proporcon of corne* that will feed a Man when that is his onelie sustenance, had you no other provisions in England perhaps the land were too little to sustain her inhabitantes and for *apparrell* I will give to the Magasine 10£ sterling a yeare (as the rates here goe) for the clothing of each particular Servaunt for everie labourer wee give one pound of Tobacco a daye besides his diet and 3 or 4 a day to Artificers, from whence shall theis payments arise Moreover *so manie come over without aine provision and those you set out yorselves so furnished to halves* (*a maine cause of their debtes and deathes and of yo*r *small returnes*) *that they make a dearth of a plentifull harvest*, I protest for my owne part if I knew how to defraie the expences of the yeare I would not set one plant of Tobacco whilst I lived in this Countrie soe much I loath it and onelie desire that I could subsist without it. Now if any will upraid us with the successe of this yeare, let them take heed least they manifest themselves to bee of the race of those Gyants w^ch^ made warre w^th^ Heaven for who is ignorant how the heavie hand of God hath suppressed us, the *lyveing being hardlie able to bury the dead* through their owne Imbecillitie insomuch as I am afraid wee have not lost lesse then 500 by sicknes (with a generall weaknes of the rest) w^ch^ taken out of so small a number (farre short of yo^r^ conjectures) I beleive have

not left behind them so manie able men in the Countrye, and by the way I would you could hang that villaine *Dupper*[1] who with his stinking beere hath poisoned most of the passengers and spred the infection all over the Collonie w^{ch} before the arrivall of the Abigail were recovered, lastlie whereas it was the onely benefit *w^{ch} wee reapt from the treacherie of the Indians in drawing ourselves into a narrower circuite*, whereby the people might have beene better governed and lived with more comfort and securitie, publique Charges more easilie defraied, forces raised with lesse difficultie and hazard to the Remaynder townes in short tyme would have beene forfeited *framed houses erected Orchardes planted and* groundes impailed for the keeping of Cattle, staple Comodities the better advanced, strength, beautie pleasure riches and reputac̄on added forthwith to the Collonie by yo^{r} commanding *us to dispearse wee are like quicksilver throwne into the fire and hardlie to bee found in so vast a distance.* But I can but give you a touch of theis thinges w^{ch} perhaps were better unwritten then not written to the full. If God spare me life I will write a particuler discourse of this Countrie, the hindrances to the Plantac̄on and waies to advance it, with an answeare unto Calumny, meanwhile I referre you to others for other particulers and will now addresse my replie to yo^{r} letter.

"If I could be proud yo^{r} Censure had so made me for that slothfull worke w^{ch} I was ashamed to father, notwithstanding it begat a desire to proceede but heare my owne Author[2]

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[1] The London brewer.

[2] Ovid.

"——nec plura sinit tempusqe pudorqe
" Dicere maius opus magni certaminis vrget.

" Yet amongst the roreing of the seas, the rustling of the shrowdes and clamour of Saylers I translated two bookes[1] and will perhaps when the sweltering heat of the day confines me to my Chamber give a further assaye for w^{ch} if I be taxt I have noe other excuse but that it was the recreacon of my idle howers and say with Alciat:

" Dum pueras inqilans[2], invenes dum tessera fallit
" Desinet et segnes chartula picta vires
" Hæc nos festivis emblemata adimus horis

" As for dubius accusacons, Custome and the meanes of the man hath made me insensible of such injuries but *more ignoble was that though proceeding from a nobler person* who said wee held not our selves secure without the guard of a Thowsand men when it is well knowne that I received not one man into my Plantacon though I had at sometymes not five that were able to beare Armes and for the Governour I my selfe was an Eye witnes that the Councellors themselves were Constrayned to watch nightlie by turnes untill the Countrie allowed him a Guard of thirtie for whose intertaignment he is yet unsatisfied O what a lying devill is mallice And nowe a like to degresse (for I write as thinges come into my mynd and expect from so worthy a friend as you are a pardon of Errours since I have not the leasure to read over what I have written) what a flagitious offence was that in us to fetch of men from their dividends who had neither food nor municon nor in

[1] He translated five before he left England. His entire translation was in 1626 published.

[2] Inquilanas ?

number able to defend themselves in the cultivatering of the earth or guard of their cattle, all being slaine about them and wee unable to supplie any one of their wantes without the ruyne of others, must they not have beene left of necessitie a pray either to slaughter or famyne or *how would their weakenes have indured the want of their ablest men to have gone upon the Indians when out of the whole Collonie wee could not raise* 180 *men* (*wher of* 80 *were fit onelie to carrie burthens*) to incumber 1000 w^{ch} had put all in hazard if God had not taken their heartes from them, though as valiant as lyons against one another and as skilfull in their bowes as the Benjamites with their slinges, haveing *manie peeces besides with Powder and shott and knowing too well how to use them,* how am I touched in particuler about that ignominious proposic̄on of removeinge to the Easterne shore when I onelie related the Argumentes and nomynated the Author And although the Governour and myselfe gave way that the place might be survaid for the planting of a Partie there as better furnished with all sortes of provision and fit hereafter for fortificatoñs, yet never was it so much as in our thoughtes (though manie raune violentlie that waye) to quit the places w^{ch} wee held and I for my part would first have beene torne in peeces. But wilbe more warie hereafter what I write—

"I used M^{r} Calthrope at his landinge withall the curtesie I could and brought him acquainted with the Governour, I proferd him the Entertainment of my house and my owne Chamber to lodge in w^{ch} he refused in that I was to bee but seldome there my selfe in regard of my almost dailie attendaunce at the Councell table (for besides our

owne parte wee are faine to discharge the offices of others: *if Mr Secretarie*[1] *had beene good for anie thing wee would never have suffred him to have gon home and what a pittifull Councellour have wee of yor Doctour*[2]). I have given from time to time the best Councell I am able, at the first he kept companie too much with his Inferiours who hung upon him while his good liquor lasted. After he consorted with Captaine Whitacres (a man of no good example) with whom he is gone into Kicotan yet wheresoever he bee he shall not bee without the reach of my oare, nor want for anie thing that I or my credit can procure him, I kindlie thank you for yor Grayhound the fairest that ever I saw yet the want of his stones have deaded his courage and made him altogether useles. But I have written too much and yet no thinge Iuopem me copia fecit. I cease to trouble you but never to love you. I pray you remember my best love and wishes to worthie Mr Gibs.

"Yor assured Friend,

"GEORGE SANDYS.

"James Cittie
"28 Martii, 1623."

"Sr I pray you be intreated extraordinarlie to importune Mr John Bonoeill[3] to send me two Frenchmen skilfull in

[1] Christopher Davison was sick from the time of his arrival. He is supposed to have been the son of Sir William Davison, secretary of Queen Elizabeth. In the census of 1625 Alice Davison, a widow, is registered at Jamestown, probably his wife.

[2] Dr. John Pott—A sketch of his peculiar career will be found on pp. 221, 222, *History of Virginia Company.*

[3] Silk worm raiser to the King, and author of the work published in 1620, for the benefit of Virginia.

silke wormes and planting of vines I will pay them 20 markes a peece for their wages by the yeare and find them victualls or 20£ a peece if they will accept of o^{r} Virginia paym^{t}—M^{r} Mellin will take order for their passage.

"I have sent you a tast of our best tobacco by M^{r} Tuke if you like it I will furnish you yearelie with enough for your takeing.

"To his worthie friend
"SAMUEL WROTE, ESQ^{RE}
"at London
"be theis delivered."

LETTER OF WILLIAM CAPPS.

William Capps, an old planter who had represented "Kiccowtan," afterward Elizabeth City, in 1619, in the first Legislature of Virginia and in after years was a prominent citizen, a few days later wrote this vigorous but grumbling letter to Deputy Ferrar.

"Ēmanuel

"Right worthy S^{r} According to my promise I now begin to write yo^{u} in folio, but know not where to begin. Complementes I must refuse and begin I must somewhere and thus first.

"Yo^{u} would make all men to forsweare yo^{r} dealing for yo^{u} know I was awarded xxx^{lb} and by yo^{r} meanes I was not to have it my selfe but was first to adventure it wth *S^{r} Wyll^{m} Naughtworth*[1] He dying in Virginia the *Threar*[2]

[1] Sir William Newce.

[2] George Sandys.

seizeth of all and there is an end of that and my 7 yeares toyle in breeding of Swyne and Capt Newce hath wth his Company devowred them almost all wth himselfe and those men yo^{n} sent to him & there is an end of that. I tould you of entertayning new Comanders over yo^{r} men but yo^{n} lightlie regarded it, these men must have large guiftes and large comissions and worshipped and what good have they done for yo^{n}, marry even this brought all to nought. Thorp he hath brought such a misery upon us by letting the Indians have their head and now must controll them. The Governor stood at that time for a cypher whilest they stood ripping open o^{r} gutts. Captaine Newce he cutts our throates on the other side and he letts in the Indians and that while the other provides to kill all the swyne as it were of sett purpose to overthrow all and who must make this good againe. The old smokers our (I knowe not how to terme him but) Governor so good so carefully mild, Religious, just, honest that I protest I thinke God hath sent him in mercie for good to us, he undergoeth all your cares and ours and I feare not but God will bless him in all his proceedinges but who must be the Instrument to make all this whole againe. Why Capps all voyces can set him forth about these businesses: But who must pay him his hyre. The Contrey is poore and the Company is poore and Capps is poore already and poorer he wilbe if he follow this course: You see I never had penny of you for all my paines. I thinke yo^{n} M^{r} Farrar know th' inside of my hart but seeing I must to it againe I pray S^{r} be you carefull to doe me what good you can, first in acquainting the Companie what a deale of trouble it wilbe and hinderance to me. My Lord

of Southampton did promise me he would see me satisfied but perhaps its forgotten therefore you must bestirr yourselfe and when you see any lustie young men that will pay their passage and some or no permission you may thinke well this fellow if he were bound to such a man for 4 or 5 yeares it might doe him some good but I am sure if I had xx it could not countervayle my labour, for I must hang at it like a Beare to the stake; You have seene that pastime but comonly it lasteth but an hower but I doubt this will last 12 monthes and by hap bring you in 3 or 4 score slaves to work about a fort or other servile worke but before I deliver them up I will make them sing new Toes old Toes no Toes at all because they shall not outrun me for I am sure they have made us sing a song this twelve month to the tune of O man where is thy hart become so not fearing but you will be mindfull of my welfare as well for some comfortable drinke and meate as otherwise for my benefitt I rest

"Your Friend indeed

"31 March, 1623 "WILL^M CAPPS.

"Verte."

"S^r I have here taken some paynes for yo^r Instruction which if you will receave may breed much health for of force this must be granted that either its a plague from heaven or els the plague from these great shipps so pestered with men I meane the death of all those men that have dyed this winter and before a little I promised you to write in folio but had it not ben seed tyme I would have sent it in foliorum. For Martyns Hundred if I had but one Body more I would have ben there to have secured

them. The Counsell was very earnest with me to have comand there but the greater worke must be before the lesser, yet I will see them now and then and be often on their Barkes for their guard I pray good Sir take these few lynes and peruse them well for these are dangers that may be avoyded I meane the unhealthines at sea and worse when it comes ashore.

"The first cause is for want of cleanliness, for betwixt the decks there can hardlie a man fetch his breath by reason there ariseth such a funke in the night that it causeth putrifaction of bloud and breedeth disease much like the plague. The more fall sick the more they annoy and poyson their fellowes the which may be prevented by care had by you. For I remember when I was in the voyage with Sir Thomas Gates and S^{r} George Somers we came in heate of somer were at sea fifteene weekes and lost not a man and farr southerlie which was indeed the great mercie of God and the meanes of health was not neglected which were these. By that tyme we had layd our own latitude and raysed 2 or 3 degrees to the Southward they appointed that every man should have half a Biskett cake and halfe a small can of Beare every morning. Then were appointed swobbers for the cleansing of the Orlopp and every part of the shipp below. Then every man was forced in faire weather to bring up his bed to ayre in the shrowdes. In the meane tyme the Quarter Masters were busied in the swobbing of every cabbine belowe with Vinegar as alsoe betweene decks which cast such a savor of sharpnes to the stomach that it bred health.

"Likewise the dogged usage of the saylers I meane those in comand as namely old Luke Forterow & the Purser by whose meanes I dare sweare hath ben the death of halfe the Passengers with the help of the poyson they gave us instead of Beare. And for my owne part as I am a Christian I had no allowance at all nor none could gett for the Purser tould me my Passage was not payd. Therefore by my consent never hire shipp of three deckes for they of force must breed the sea plague I doe not meane because I had no allowance but by reason of such vehement funkes that cometh from below.

"Next for S^r^ Wm. Newce he came indeed into the Contrey and dyed and M^r^ Sandys he gripes all for the Companie for all yo^r^ Order of Court and if you looke well about you may see the just hand of God on that very place. For by true Report since the day it was torne from us there have dyed above a hundred more by halfe than ever dyed there in eleaven yeare before and one himselfe. And now if the Company will send me over x or xij Carpenters & Sawyers & brickmakers with provision for the first yeare I wold take paynes and care to provide after for them and build a substantiall guesthouse the first at Elizabeth and the other at James for if you did but see how miserablie they die for want of provision and housing you could not but pittie their cases. There must be to this business two yoake of oxen and a horse. This being effected by Gods helpe there wilbe health and after they may be sett to the building of a skonce for defence but I must tell you if I meddle with it I will no man to command them any thing for if they doe I will meddle no more with them."

On the 11th of April, 1623, Sandys wrote another letter to John Ferrar, relative to the weak Council in Virginia, and suggesting that "some of quality and worth" should be persuaded to come over and strengthen it. Yeardley, the late Governor, he thought was "too much taken up with his own private business, and did not wish that his government should be eclipsed by his successors." Secretary Davison and Doctor Pott were "ciphers." John Pountis[1] meant well. Captain Ralph Hamor's extreme poverty forced him to "shifts." Captain Roger Smith was "fitter for action than advice yet honest in both." These were all the councillors. Of some of the prominent citizens he thought that Captain Matthews would attend to nothing but his crop. Capt. Tucker was "industrious and fit" but had to consult Mr. Ferrar's interests. Mr. Blainey when he left the Magazine might be qualified by his public spirit and good understanding, and Lieutenant Pierce, the Governor of Jamestown, was inferior to none in experience, industry and capacity. No others were deserving of mention.

[1] Pountis, a cousin of Sir Thomas Merry, died soon after on his voyage to England.

CHAPTER XIV.

SERMONS BEFORE THE VIRGINIA COMPANY A. D. 1622, BY REV. PATRICK COPLAND AND JOHN DONNE.

THE Virginia Company in the spring of 1622, was much encouraged by the intelligence of the safe arrival at Jamestown of their nine ships, and their eight hundred passengers, and the Rev. Patrick Copland[1] was requested to deliver a Thanksgiving sermon. On Thursday, the 18th of April, the discourse was preached at Bow Church from the portion of the 107th Psalm.[2] He spoke of the dangers of the voyage, the deliverance, and consequent duty. He urged upon the City of London to continue to "transport their overflowing multitude to Virginia," especially children, as it had been commenced by Sir George Bowles (Bolles) who in 1617–18, had been Mayor.

"And that I may bend my speech vnto all, seeing so many of the Lord's Worthies haue done worthily in this noble action; yea, and seeing that some of them greatly rejoyce in this, that God hath inabled them to helpe forward this glorious worke, both with their prayers and with their purses, let it be your greife and sorrow to be

[1] A sketch of Copland is in a following Chapter.

[2] Large extracts from this sermon are given in Neill's *English Colonization of America*, Strahan & Co., London, 1871.

exempted from the company of so many honourable minded men, and from this noble Plantation, tending so highly to the advancement of the Gospell, and to the honouring of our drad Soueraigne, by inlarging of his kingdomes, and adding a fifth crowne unto his other foure: for 'Eu dat Virginia quintam' is the motto of the legal seale of Virginia."[1]

The face of the seal was an escutcheon quartered with the arms of England, France, Scotland and Ireland, crested with a maiden Queen with flowing hair; supporting two men in armor.

Spenser dedicated his *Fairy Queen* to Elizabeth, "Queen of England, France, Ireland and Virginia." After James VI of Scotland, became the James I of England, Virginia in compliment could be called the fifth kingdom or crown.

About a month after its delivery it was prepared for the press and published with this title.

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[1] On October 20, 1619, the Company appointed a committee to meet at Sir Edwin Sandy's "to take a cote for Virginia, and agree upon the Seale." On the 15th of the next month the device was presented for inspection.—*History of Virginia Company*, pp. 154, 155.

VIRGINIA'S God be Thanked,

OR

A SERMON OF THANKSGIUING

FOR THE HAPPIE

ſucceſſe of the affayres in VIRGINIA this laſt yeare.

Preached by PATRICK COPLAND at *Bow*-Church, in *Cheapſide*, before the Honorable VIRGINIA COMPANY, on Thurſday, the 18 of *Aprill*, 1622. And now publiſhed by *the Commandment of the ſaid honorable* COMPANY.

Hereunto are adjoyned some epiſtles, written firſt in Latine (and now Engliſhed) in the Eaſt Indies by *Peter Pope*, an Indian youth, *borne in the bay of Bengala*, who was firſt taught and converted by the ſaid P. C. And after baptized by Maſter *John Wood*, Dr. in Divinitie *in a famous Aſſembly, before the Right Worſhipfull, the Eaſt India Company*, at S. *Denis* in Fan-Church ſtreete in *London*, December 22, 1616.

LONDON

Printed by J. D. for *William Sheffard* and John Bellamie, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the two greyhounds in Corne-hill, neere the Royall *Exchange*. 1622.

The sermon had scarcely appeared in print when a ship arrived with a tale of horror which spread like wild-fire through the streets of London, and the hearing of which made the "hair of the flesh to stand up." While Copland was preaching his sermon of Thanksgiving, the inhabitants of Virginia were in tears and despair. The treacherous Indians in March, on Good Friday, had risen and killed and scalped one-half of the whole inhabitants.

Sermon of Dr. John Donne.

John Donne, Dean of Saint Paul's, although a decided conformist, was a moderate man. He did not believe, to use his words "in a foreign church either where the church is but an antiquary's cabinet, full of rags and fragments of antiquity, but nothing fit for the use for which it was first made; or where it is so new built a house with bare walls that it is yet unfurnished of such ceremonies as should make it comely and reverend." To a friend he wrote: "You know I never fettered nor imprisoned the word, religion; not straitening it, friarly; not immuring it in a Rome, or a Wittemberg or a Geneva; they are all virtual beams of one Sun."

It was voted on October 23, 1622, by the Virginia Company, "that the Dean of Paul's a brother of the Company should preach the annual sermon," and a committee, one of which was Sir John Danvers, the step-father of the poet George Herbert, and later in life one of the signers of the death warrant of Charles the First, was appointed to convey the invitation, and St. Michael's in Cornhill was designated as the place of delivery.

It was preached on November 30, 1622, and is one of the best specimens of his style, abounding in quaint conceit, and pungent appeals. The text was Acts 1 : 8, and the introduction as follows :

"There are reckoned in this book, twenty-two sermons of the Apostles; and yet the book is not called the preaching, but the Acts of the Apostles; and the acts of the Apostles were to convey the name of Christ Jesus, and to propagate his Gospel over all the world.

"Beloved! You are actors upon the same stage too, the uttermost parts of the earth are your scene, act on the acts of the Apostles. Be you a light to the Gentiles that sit in darkness, be you content to carry him over these seas, who dried up one Red Sea for his first people, and hath poured out another Red Sea, His own blood, for them and for us.

"When a man was fallen God clothed him, made him a leather garment, then God descended to our occupation. When the time of man's redemption was come, then God, as it were, to house him, became a carpenter's son; then God descended to another occupation. Naturally without doubt, man could have been his own tailor, and his own carpenter, something of these two kinds man would have done of himself, though he had no pattern from God * * * * Now as God taught us to make clothes, not only to clothe ourselves, but to clothe Him in his poor and naked members here; as God taught us to build houses, not to house ourselves, but to house Him, in erecting churches to His glory; so God taught us to make ships not to transport ourselves, but to transport Him."

In conclusion he said: "Those of our profession that go; you that send them who go, do all an apostolical function. What action soever hath in the first intention thereof to propagate the gospel of Christ Jesus that is an apostolical action. * * * * Preach to them doctrinally, preach to them practically, enamor them with your justice, and with your civility; but inflame them with your godliness and religion. Bring them to love and reverence the name of that King that sends men to teach them the ways of civility in this world, but to fear and adore the name of that King of Kings that sends men to teach them the ways of religion for the next world.

"Those among you that are old should now pass out of this world with the beginning of that commonwealth and of that church, although not to see the growth thereof to perfection; Apollos watered, but Paul planted; he that begun the work was the greater man. And you that are young men may love to see the enemy, as much impeached by that place; and your friends, yea your children as well accommodated in that place, as any other. You shall have made this *island* which is but the *suburbs* of the Old World a bridge a gallery to the New, to join all to that world that shall never grow old, the Kingdom of Heaven."

CHAPTER XV.

JOHN ROLFE AND HIS WHITE WIVES.

THE name of John Rolfe is prominent in the early history of Virginia. He and his wife were among the passengers in the "Sea Venture" which in the summer of 1609, was wrecked at the Bermudas. About five months, after they reached the island, his wife gave birth to a child. In May, 1610, Rolfe reached Virginia. Strachey in his narrative, writes: "The eleventh of February we had the child of one John Rolfe christened, a daughter, to which Captain Newport and myself were witnesses, and Mistress Horton, and we named it Bermuda." The infant died in a short time. Rolfe was energetic and industrious. Hamor referred to him as follows: "I may not forget the gentleman worthy of much commendations which first took the pains to make trial thereof [tobacco] his name M^r^ John Rolfe Anno Domini 1612, partly for the love he hath a long time borne unto it, and partly to raise commodities to the adventurers, in whose behalf I intercede and vouchsafe to hold my testimony, in belief that during the time of his abode there, which draweth near upon six years no man hath more labored then he has done."

Before 1614 the wife who came with him from England was dead, and in the spring of that year he formed a

connection with the Indian woman Pocahontas. None of the writers of that day give the place or the name of the minister who performed the marriage ceremony. Hamor only mentions that "it was *about* the fifth of April." Pocahontas died in England, on March 21, 1616–17, and was buried as the wife of Thomas Wroth, gent.[1]

Rolfe in June, 1617, had returned to Virginia, and soon after married Jane, daughter of William Pierce, also written Peirce, Perse, Perce and Pyers. Pierce sailed from England in 1609, in the "Sea Venture," and Rolfe was his fellow passenger. His wife Jane came the next year, in the ship "Blessing." Their daughter Jane about the year 1618 was the wife of Rolfe, and must have been born in England. Rolfe's son Thomas about 1619 was born, and about 1621, his daughter Jane.

In March, 1622, Rolfe died. In his will, made March 10, 1621–22, at James City, he entrusts the care of his two children to his father-in-law William Pierce. A parcel of land opposite James City[2] he bequeaths to his son Thomas, and should he die without heirs to his daughter Jane. His lands near Mulberry Island were given to his wife during her life, and then to his daughter Jane. To his servant, Robert Davies, he gave twenty pounds.[3]

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[1] For a notice of Pocahantas see *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 83–105.

[2] He had by patent 400 acres in Tappahannock and with his father-in-law and others 1,700 acres near Mulberry Island.

[3] The witnesses to the will were Temperance the wife of Gov. Yeardley, Richard Buck the minister at Jamestown, and Robert

After the news of his death reached England his brother sent a petition to the Virginia Company. In their minutes of October 7, 1622, is the following: "M^r^ Henry Rolfe in his petition desiringe the estate his Brother John Rolfe deceased, left in Virginia, might be enquired out and conuerted to the best use for the maintenance of his Relict wife and Children, and for his indempnity hauing brought up the Child his said Brother had by Powhatan's daughter w'ch child is yet liuinge and in his custodie.

"It was ordered that the Governor and Counsell of Virginia should cause enquiries be made what lands and goods the said John Rolfe died seized of, and in case it be found the said Rolfe made no will, then to take such order for the petitioner's indempnity and for the mayntenance of the said children and his relict wife as they shall find his estate will beare (his debt unto the Companie and others being first satisfied) and to return unto the Companie here an account of their proceedings."

It is nowhere mentioned why Rolfe did not provide in his will, for his child, by Pocahontas.

William Pierce was one of the most influential men in the Colony and in 1624 his wife died. He, that year visited England, having taken with him as it is supposed, his grandson Thomas, whose name does not appear in the census of Virginia, taken in January, 1625, while there his grandchild Jane was registered as four years of age, and residing with the well known citizen and member of the Council, Capt. Roger Smith.

Davis (Davies), John Cartwright and John Milwarde. See Abstract *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Register*, January, 1884.

Thomas, the son of John Rolfe by his wife Jane Pierce, it is supposed was educated in England. Anthony Rolfe of Tallington, Norfolk, was a son of Thomas and grandson of John Rolfe. His daughter Hannah, married Sir Thomas Leigh, born in 1639 at Stow Bardolf. A portrait of Jane Rolfe, daughter of Thomas, was copied by the distinguished painter Thomas Sully of Philadelphia. The Bollings of Virginia may be the descendants of Jane Pierce, wife of John Rolfe.

CHAPTER XVI

AFFAIRS OF THE COMPANY IN LONDON, A. D. 1623 UNTIL THE ABROGATION OF THE CHARTER.

LETTER OF EARL OF MIDDLESEX. DISPUTES OF THE COMPANY. A BALLAD. LETTER OF JOHN BARGRAVE.

THE accounts of the want of provisions and many deaths in Virginia, led the enemies of the London Company to renew their efforts to have the charter abrogated. Alderman Johnson and other members opposed to the administration of the Earl of Southampton, sent a petition to the King in April, 1623, requesting that a Commission might be appointed to enquire into the causes which had brought the Colony into its deplorable condition.[1]

Upon the 19th of April, Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, wrote to Secretary Conway:

"M^r^ Secretary: Because I conceave His Ma^t^ expects to heare of the Lord's proceeding yesterday in Counsell, I have thought fit to give his Ma^tie^ accompt, thereof by yo^u^, when yo^u^ shall finde a fitt time to acquaint Him with it.

"Concerning the differences of the two Companies of Virginia & the Somer Islands, though there were much heate & bitterness betweene them at first, fitter to perplexe

[1] See Petition and action of the Company in *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 387–390.

then to settle the busines; yet at last we brought them to agree of two points, which we found needful for the mayne end of His Ma^ts^ originall & most Graciouse contynued intention & for the publique & generall good of both Plantacons.

"First, because the State of the Colonies & the Accompts thereof is diverslie reported by them, we have agreed of a Comission to be presently awarded to S^r^ William Jones, S^r^ Nicolas Fortescue, S^r^ Henry Bourchier, S^r^ Henry Spiller, S^r^ Frances Goston, S^r^ Richard Sutton & S^r^ William Pytt, or anie four of them to examyne the cariage of the wholl busines, from the beginning of S^r^ Thomas Smithe's governmen^t^ untill now: how it began with him, how he left it, & in what state it is at this present; what moneys hath been collected or raised towards it & when & by what meanes, eyther upon pryvate adventure, or otherwise; & how the same hath ben husbanded & disposed: that upon returne of this Comission, (which we have alredie given order for to M^r^ Attorney) we may have some time grounds to worke upon for directyng our future counsell & resolutions to advance his Ma^ts^ ends. Secondlie, to prevent all misreports & underhand workings of eyther side in the Colonies, in the mean tyme we have appointed both Companies to meet this morning to agree of one generall letter to goe for them all upon the heads we have appointed them, & the same being so drawen by them, to be presented to the Lords and there approved & so to be sent over with the ships now in dispatch: & no pryvate l're besides to goe from any man, differing in anie point from the Generall. It being also resolved that another letter to both Plantacons shall be written from the Board, to

acquaint them with his Ma^ties^ Pious & Princely care of them & the cause in hande to provide better for them; whereby to unite their resolutions & give them incouragement & constancie, to goe on cheerfullie in the worke they have in hande. And soe we have left that busines for the present.

"Y^or^ faithful & assured friende

"Chelsey 18 April 1623. MIDDLESEX.

"M^r^ Secretary Conway—"

The opponents of Sir Edwin Sandys and Earl of Southampton, in Easter week of 1623, charged among other things "the spreading of false rumors and publication of letters, books and ballads describing the happy estate of the Plantation, which was most unreasonably put in practice this last Lent, when the Colony was in most extreme misery." They further complained that the Company made scandalous accusations against the Earl of Warwick and others, and of the "inviting of strangers, yea of women to be present in a lattice gallery to be the spectators of their courses, and hearers of their calumnies to the end the rumors thereof might be more generally spread," and that the business of the Company was interrupted by faction and wrangling.

The Company with dignity replied that the Virginia Company consisted of nearly one thousand persons of whom two hundred often assembled at once, and that a factious minority of twenty-six who brought up their strength from the country were the only disturbers. To the charge that "certain persons did draw on and spin out the courts till 11 o'clock at night and untill their

opponents had departed" it was maintained that the length of the sitting was caused by important business, and that one hundred persons in addition to divers noblemen and knights were present when the question was put.

The rhyme which had been complained of and called a "cosening ballad" by the opposition, was printed in the spring of 1623, and is as follows:

GOOD NEWES FROM VIRGINIA.

Sent from James his Towne this present Moneth of March, 1623 by a Gentleman in that Country.

To the tune of All those that be good fellowes.

No English heart but heard with griefe
the Massacre here done
And how by savage trecheries
full many a mothers sonne
But God that gave them power & leave
their cruelties to use
Hath given them up into our hands
who English did abuse.

For many reasons long we lay
and no revenge did take
Till noble Wiat Governour
caus'd all the Counsell make
A firme decree that worthy men
should venture to oppose
In just revenge to try their force
against these heathen foes.

Bould worthy Sir George Yardly
commander cheife was made
Cause foureteene yeares, and more he hath
within this Country staid
Against the King Opukingunow
against this savage foe
Did he with many an English heart
for just revenge thus goe.

Stout Master George Sands upon a night
did bravely venture forth
And mong'st the Savage murtherers
did forme a deed of worth
For finding many by a fire
to death their lives they pay
Set fire of a towne of theirs
and bravely came away.

From James his Towne wel shipt and stord
with men and victualle store
Up Nan-Somond river did they saile
long ere they came to shore
Who landing slew those enemies
that massacred our men
Tooke prisoners corne & burnt their townes
and came abord agen.

Beside one Waters and his Wife
escaping by Gods hand
Who satisfied the misery in
these savage men now stand

Munsaymons King in danger lies
and perill every day
Both him and all his people there
make hast to flie away.

But Sir George Yardly staid not there
no longer then must need
Unto Pamunky river he
came upward with all speed
And at a Towne cal'd Chesskeyer
he landed with some men
Who shot with arowes manfully
'till bullets answered them.

There many Indians lost their lives
their habitations burn'd
And so unto King Tollanes house
our English men return'd
Who left both house and country
and so away did goe
Some straglars up and downe were left
there of this savage foe.

The Second Part of Newes from Virginia.

To the same tune.

So to Opachankenowe's house
they marched with all speed
Great Generall of the savages
and rules in's Brothers steed

But contrary to each man's hopes
the foe away was fled
Leaving both land and corne to us
which stood us in great stead.

So having fraughted well there shippes
and pinases with corne
These two great Kings were fled so far
that safely we returne
With all our spoile and people safe
returning thus with joy
Both tempell, Botes, houses and weres
for fishing we destroy.

Bould Captaine Powell show'd his work
whose forst these heathen flie
And quit there goodly houses where
in safety they did lie
The Kings of Waynoke, Pipskoe
and Apummactokes fled
For feare a way by Charles his Towne
not one dares show a head.

And Captaine Hamour plaid his part
in severall rivers by
In sheding many Indianes bloodes
which us'd such cruelties
Bringing abundance of their Corne
to sucker us that need
And Captaine Middisome likewise
with honor did proceed.

Who coming tooke not all their corne
but likewise tooke their King
And unto James his Citty he
did these rich trophies bring
And divers ships still are abroad
with hundreds for to find
Both corne and victaile from these foes
that us'd us thus unkind.

But for those Indians that doe love
the English fervently
We use them as we use ourselves
with self same curtesie
Great and most Gracious Mighty God
thy name be ever praised
Which late dids't bring thy servants low
whom now thyselfe hath raised.

The Indians flie and we I hope
shall nere more want indure
For those that put their trust in God
shall of his Grace be sure
Now Deere and Swine and Turkeys
will dayly so increase
That faire Virginia will I hope
prove plentifull by peace.

Of late from England safe ariv'd
a thousand people came
Which terrifies the Indians
to heare this trump of fame

Armes from the Tower sent by our good King
and twenty ships there lieng
Makes all our friends in heart rejoyce
while foes with griefe are dying.

The Iron workes and silk workes both
and vines shall be replanted
Great store will be of every thing
that we so long have wanted
Indico seed and sugar canes
and figtrees prosper well
With every thing particuler
that beares true tast or smell.

Ship Carpenters are come great store
to doe our Countrey good
For which no Countrey can compare
to equall us for wood
A blockhouse on the riever side
is making very strong
That we shall never neede to feare
our foraine foes ere long.

Foure thousand gallant English hearts
Virginia overspreds
The worst of which I thinke will not
for washing give there heads
Both Armes and Ammunition store
and cattaile we have plenty
With foule and fish and many things
that are in England dainty.

The Collony compelled is
to speake in Pountes praise
Vice Admirall from England here
whose worth his fame shall raise
But last of all that Lady faire
that woman worth renowne
That left her Countrey and her friends
to grace brave James his Towne.

The wife unto our Governour
did safely here arive
With many gallants following her
whom God preserve alive
What man would stay when Ladies gay
both lives and fortunes leaves
To taste what we have truly fowne
truth never man deceaves.

Thus wishing God will turne the mindes
of many for to come
And not to live like dormise still
continuall keeping home
Who ever sees Virginia
this shall he surely find
What fit for men and more and than
a Country man most kind.

Finis.

Printed at London for John Trundle.

While the Commission appointed to examine the affairs of the Company were at work, Capt. John Bargrave of

Patricksbourne, Kent, a brother of Doctor Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, and the first person who had established a private plantation in Virginia, addressed the following communication to Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer of England.

LETTER OF JOHN BARGRAVE TO LORD TREASURER.

"Right No^ble^ After 10 yeares service in the warres in the summer tyme and at my study in the wynter whereby in some measure I informed my Judgment in publique buisinesse and 7 yeares since now latelie spent in observing the abuses of the Virginia Company and studdying the meanes to rectifie them, being forced and necessitated to be an earnest follower and studdyer of the same by losse of my Estate I may now claime to my selfe the right of being Maister in that art, Challenging all others that shall oppose what I write and makeing it good that it is impossible for any one (that shall newly enter into the buisinesse) to be able to setle this Plantac̃on, I will take this proposic̃on for the ground of my maister peece and prove by right reason (w^ch^ Plato saith is the ground of pollicie) That honors, liberties and freedomes togeather w^th^ returne of profit, ordered to the working of our pollitique Ends, would plant Virginia and worke those effectes wee all aimed at

"From this ground I raise theis 6 heades

"1. First I undertake to show the meanes to draw a sufficient nomber of men that have good Estates here to plant in Virginia w^th^ their persons & goodes and to cause the Planters in Virginia to plant Estates in England.

"2. Secondlie so to seaver and divide the facultyes of soveraintie and the Comand of the forces amongst those men so estated that they shall never meete united in power, but to advance our politique end of holding the Plantacon to of England.

"3. Thirdlie by making use of the naturall strength and largenes of y^e^ place so to marshall those men as they shall not onelie make the Plantacon to spread and growe to find out the best Comodities and inlarge the Kinges dominions but they shall secure it both from forraine Enimies and inable it to give lawes to the domesticke Indians.

"4. Fourthly the imploying of those men there to make the best & suddainest returnes hither.

"5. Fiftly the manageing and ordering those returnes so as they shall not onely supply and mantayne the Plantacon w^th^ apparrell and necessaries but it shall make a publique stocke and Treasure that should increase as the Plantacon increaseth.

"6. Sixtlie and lastlie the dooeing of all theis thinges by way of right and interest to the mantenance of Justice and peace and to the Hono^r^ of God our King and State.

"All theis quallityes being treated of in five severall Treatises are lastlie composed into one forme w^ch^ may aptlie be tearmed a militarie Intendencie by Tribe, it being a way not onelie to plant Garrisons without pay but each Garrison bringing w^th^ it a certaine Revenew to the Crowne it shall tie Virginia as fast to England as if it were one Terra firing w^th^ it.

"The hintes of it I had from Charles the 5th and if he himselfe or King Philip his sonne had used the like policie in the West Indyes, Low Countries, Millaine, Naples and the rest of his Provinces to mantayne his Soverainitye there, he had not spent so many Millions to keepe Garrisons as he hath done neither would his Provinces be so readie to fall from him as now they wilbe if his Plate fleet should faile him.

"When I shall see the Companie incouraged and the Comission goe forward so as the delinquents being knowne to ther King from honest men a stocke may be gayned out of th' abuses of the Government and that this forme be setled I doubt not but to procure 8 or 10 Gentlemen that shall have 7 or 8,000℔ Anñ revenew to goe as Commissioners into Virginia to setle it and to be the heades of the first Colloneyes and all they shall demand of his Ma^{ty} is that he will grant them the wardshipp of their heyres if they shall dye in the service now at their first goeing. And if his Ma^{ty} will but grant me releife out of the Imployment of the said stocke, I will undertake on payne of my life that what is wanting to performe the buisines the Planter shall supplie and when this is done I may glory in the worke and bragg that I have helped the state to meanes, shewed them the way and helped them with instrumentes to conquer and keepe in subjeccõn to England a State that may grow to be as great an Empire as the King of Spaynes, the distance of place no way hindering it to the hono^{r} and inriching of our King and State and to the releife of thousandes of poore people.

"I ever said and so I exprest myselfe in my Articles two yeares since at the Councell boord that if the buisnes wth

the Company were not tenderlie handled 'till this publique stocke was gayned and this forme were framed and setled by the Company we should beginne at the wrong end and it would hinder the worke this takeing away of the Patent being a device of the delinquentes (like some other they have formerlie used) hath so madded the Company that whereas there is 80 Articles put in against the former Governo^{rs}, 15 of them being against the Accomptes and but 3 examined, they let all goe now at six and seaven and will medle no further and that there cannot be a more pleasing thing to the delinquentes any one may see it by some of their earnest following it. For my part I never durst seeke to take away the populer Government here partlie because the deliverie up of Patents doth weaken the Confidence that Patentees should have in them and the Patent now granted being to the Company consisting of the Adventurer and Planter and the Govern^{t} being now in the Company here if the Company will by consenting to the forme transferre the Govern^{t} to the Planter (to whom of right it belonges) there is necessitie that the Patent must be delivered, partlie because there must by necessitie be such correspondencie betweene the Planter in Virginia and the Adventurer here that the Planter must make noe lawes to bind the Estates of the Adventurer but he must consent to it either by himself or some other for otherwise no man will adventure partly because the consent of all the parties interested to the forme will make it the more firme and perpetuall partlie because all changes of government should be insensible gentlie & easie Partlie because this consent by voices doth make many adventure that otherwise would not Partly

because I made a doubt whether the King would take the name of the Plantacon as a worke of his owne till he saw it was able to subsist and defend it selfe against forreyne and domesticke power Partly because under the name of the publique (w^{ch} is the Kinges in right of his Soveraintie) all the benifit of the publique landes & servantes will returne unto him though he be no more seene in the buisines then formerlie he hath beene. Lastlie the Plantacon being divided into petty Collonyes of 300 in each one of them, if those Collonies shall nominate 3 Adventurers here, two of them to be their Agentes to doe their buisines as the Comittees doe now and the third to preconsult and make Contractes for the Planter wth the King or Company the whole classis of those Preconsulters haveing a negative voice, theis will prevent all wrong done to the Plantacon and there will nothing remayne but the very name of the Company.

"The Company feare that this takeing away the Patent before the abuses were examined was hatched at Alderman Johnson's house at Bowe at the Kinges being there that the King is now prest to it by Sir Thomas Smithes freindes of the Bedchamber and all is done to conceale the falshood of his accomptes and the grosenes of their Governm^{t} from his Ma^{tes} knowledge. They feare likewise that S^{r} Thomas Smith, S^{r} Samuell Argoll and Alderman Johnson standing cleare in the Kinges eyes and the Govern^{t} being framed that they may doe wth the Planter and Adventurer what they list all their priviledges and rightes being taken from them they wilbe made their Governors who have beene the principall abusers of them and this that side bragge of Some of the Com^{rs} also answearing Peticoñers that it is

to no purpose for them to medle any further being the King hath declared himselfe to take away the Govern^{t} from the Company and to put it into the handes of twelve Councellors that may right their cause.

"The way to right all wilbe the setling forward of the Comission the forceing the Company to make good their complaintes the nomynating a Comittee from the board or otherwise to examine and approve of the forme of govern^{t} that shalbe tendered to the Company and when they shall see that justice is done this stocke is like to be gayned and that this forme of governm^{t} w^{ch} the King and State doth presse on them is no such Bulbegger as they need to be afraid of but framed according to right tending to the good of all parties interested for the Companies ease and to take away the blame from them. If anything miscarrie for want of Government the order of the forme placeing the same men in the Governm^{t} w^{ch} they themselves would choose if the Govern^{t} should remayne in their handes and they being by the said forme to have their Adventures secured to them by the whole Collonyes wherein they shall adventure and that this is all the hurt that is intended to them I make noe doubt but the States and the Companies endes meeting in one and the same thing they will imbrace it and the buisines will goe well forward.

"I know (my good Lord) that in cases of necessitie all States and Statesmen instead of following straight wayes to compasse their endes are forced to follow more oblique and crooked the greatnes of the future good recompenceth the present ill So Lycurgus although his Pollicie was all aristocraticall so just as for it he was (of the Oracle)

tearmed beloved of the godes yet notwithstandinge he being necessitated to set up his govern^{t} by Conspiracie and force he was likewise compelled to choose all his first Councell out of Conspirators by this rule of necessitie Romulus (as Livie saith imitating other founders of Comonwealthes) to draw people to his new built Cittie erected an Assilum or Sanctuary for Outlawes men indebted and discontented persons Junius Brutus likewise in the desperate case of the Citie of Rome after the battell of Canne was forced for want of men to set at liberty all the prisoners indebted and to discharge their debtes on condicon that they would serve the State although in theis examples wee in our necessitie may intreate Connivencie and helpe for some industrious Gentlemen indebted and decaying in their Estates by whose industrie the States turne may be served and their falling houses releived. This pollicy no question is tolerable and fitt but that theis delinquentes seeing their leaudnes like to be discovered should meet the storme in the face and to avoid the obloquie of their offences should be suffred to compound under hand and under a color of their love to the Plantacon and a desire to see the mannageing of it, by concealing their wronges done should thrust all the disgrace from themselves upon others it being a most sure rule that nothing makes a State more florish then a due administracon of rewardes and punishmentes, this must needes be by the rule of state intollerable and the more intollerable because the State at this tyme both here and in Virginia, longes for examples in this kind. The limitacon of the soveraigne faculties amongst the Councell and Magistrates in Virginia, wholy consisting in the severe punishment of

all incroachment upon soveraigne power further then the forme giveth leave they therefore that shall robb the Comonwealth of this example shall robb it of it life. Whereas therefore the foresaid delinquentes takeing advantage on his Ma^tes^ direccõn against such as did not make good theis Complaintes that they shall suffer the same punishm^t^ that the delinquentes should yf their Complantes prove not true did thereupon by the Kinges direccõn cause the Complaintes in the name of the Companie to cease because such punishment could not be inflicted upon the Companie as might upon private persons whereby they did for a long time hinder the buisines before proceedings of the Cour^ts^ till such time as the boord did order it, that against such delinquentes as were instrumentes of the Company they might complaine (it being but a device like this of takeing away the Patent) to hinder the proceedinges of the Complaintes. If therefore his Ma^tie^ will suffer a bill to be drawne in my name (I makeing choice of the Companies Articles and proofes that shalbe laid in the said bill and will continew my protecõn and give unto me the 4th part of what shalbe recovered to recompense my losse, I will undertake skinne for skinne that nothing shalbe laid against them but shalbe proved And if the other partie will doe the like against S^r^ Edwyn Sandys or any others of the Companie the buisines wilbe by this meanes fully censured so prayeing for yo^r^ Lo^pps^ increase of hono^r^ I rest

"Yo^r^ Lo^rps^ to cõmand

"JOHN BARGRAVE."

In April, 1624, the Company determined to bring their troubles, to the notice of the House of Commons, but the

King hearing that a petition had been presented, wrote the following :[1]

"Whereas wee have taken notice that some of the Virginia Compagnie have present a Petition to our House of Commons, and doubting it might occasion the repetition and renewing of those Discords and Contentions which have been amongst them, and which by our great care, and the Directions of our Counsell are in good way to be composed. Wee do signify to our House of Commons: that wee hold it very unfitt for the Parliam^{t} to trouble themselves with those Matters, which can produce nothing, but a further increase [of] Schisme and Faction, and disturbe the happy and peacea^{ble} proceeding of the Parliam^{t} which wee hope your cares (as hitherto they have done) shall concurr with ours to bring a good issue. As for these buisinesses of Virginia, and the Barmudoes, ourself have taken them to heart, and will make it our own worke to settle the quiet, and welfare of those Plantations, and will bee ready to do any thing that may bee for the real benefitt and advancem^{t} of them. This wee thought good to intimate, not out of favour, respect or mediation of any party, but of our own Princely love. And we earnestly desire to remove all occasion that might disturbe the peace of it, or hinder you from your more great and weighty occasions and assure ourself, our House of Commons will take in good part and correspond with us herein, as they have in all things else during this Session. Given at Windsor, Aprill 28, 1624."

[1] Given in Lefroy's Bermudas, Vol. 1, p. 336. Seven weeks after this letter was presented, on June 16, the Charter of the Virginia Company was declared by Chief Justice Ley to be null and void. *See History of Virginia Company*, pp. 415–419.

CHAPTER XVII.

EFFORTS TO PROMOTE CHRISTIANITY AND EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA AND SOMERS ISLANDS.

Rev. Robert Hunt.

WITH the first expedition under Newport, which left the Thames, in 1606, sailed the Rev. Robert Hunt, as a spiritual guide and teacher of the Colonists. He had lived in Kent, but nothing is certainly know of his antecedents. During the winter of 1607–8, his library was destroyed by fire at Jamestown, before the summer of 1609, he had died. Captain John Smith alludes to him as one who by his conduct exhibited love for Christ, and charity for fellow men.

Rev. Richard Buck.

The Rev. Richard Buck or Bucke, said to have been an Oxford student, accompanied Gates and Somers in the ship "Sea Venture" which went to pieces on the rocks of the Bermudas. He reached Jamestown, in May, 1610, and Rolfe in 1616 calls him "a very good preacher." In 1619 he made the prayer at the opening of the first elective legislative assembly of Europeans in North America. The time of his marriage cannot be ascertained, but about the year 1611, his wife had a daughter christened by the

name of Mara, three years later he had a son which was named Gershom, and in the year 1616 his wife gave him another son, a child of sorrow, well called Benoni. He did not chuckle and laugh in childish glee, he had a vacant stare, and it was soon known that he would not be able to measure a yard of cloth, number twenty, or rightly name the days of the week, and that he under the English Statute was a "natural fool," the first in Virginia. Still another son was born about 1619, and before the close of 1624, Mr. Buck was dead.

Poole and Glover.

Sir Thomas Dale mentions that Mr. Poole preached on the afternoon of his arrival at Jamestown, which was Sunday, the 19th of May, 1611, and in the second expedition of Sir Thomas Gates, which arrived in August, came Glover, "an approved preacher in Bedford and Huntingdonshire, a graduate of Cambridge, reverenced and respected," one who was in easy circumstances and advanced in years. He lived but a short time after his arrival.

Alexander Whitaker.

Alexander Whitaker also in 1611, arrived with Gates. The son of the distinguished head of Saint John's College, Cambridge, he believed with his father, that "he is a perfect minister who has learned the scriptural doctrine, and explained it to the people; and that, is a true and perfect church which receives and cherishes such doctrine." He discarded the surplice and wrote to England: "Every

Sabbath day we preach in the forenoon and catechize in the afternoon. Every Saturday, at night, I exercise in Sir Thomas Dale's house. Our church affairs be consulted on by the Minister, and four of the most religious men." Rolfe mentions him in 1616 "as a good divine" at Bermuda Hundred. The painting in the rotunda of the Capitol represents Whitaker in a surplice, and in other respects, is at variance with the truth of history. In a letter[1] to Crashaw, Preacher of the Temple, dated Jamestown, August 9, 1611, Whitaker[2] wrote:

"I should more admire VIRGINIA w'th the Inhabitants yf I did not remember that EGIPT was exceedinge fruitfull, that CANAAN flowed with milke and hony before Israel did overrunne it, and that SODOM was like the garden of God in the dayes of Lott. Only I thinke that the Lord hath spared this people and inriched the bowells of the country with the riches and bewty of nature that we wantinge them might in the search of them Comunicate the most excellent m'chandize and treasure of the Gospell w'th them. God hath heretofore most horribly plagued our Contrimen w'th famine, death the sword, &c., for the sins of our men were intollerable. I marvell more that

[1] Communicated to the *Richmond Standard* February 4, 1882, by G. D. Scull, Esq., Oxford, England.

[2] Whitaker was the cousin of the Rev. William Gouge, the respected minister of Black Friars, London. A Rev. William Gough or Gouge died at Jamestown, Va., in 1683 and is supposed to have been a relative of Alexander Whitaker. The daughter of this Rev. Mr. Gough married a John Whitaker; and a correspondent of the *Richmond Standard* in October, 1880, mentions that the tombstone of John is still standing near Jamestown.

God did not sweepe them away all att once, then that he did in such manner punishe them. Yet he in the midest of his anger remembered mercy, and mindeinge nowe (as we hope) to fulfill his purpose and sett up the kingdome of his Sonne on their p'ts most miraculously w'th stood many times the purposes of our men whoe were retourninge home, and now agine w'th farre more successive p'ceedings and better hopes doth preserve us here. As for me God hath dealt mercifully w'th me beyond my friends' opinion and my owne hopes. My coming hither was p's'pous and my Continuance here hath been Answerable I thinke I have fared better for yo'r prayers and the rest. Yf there be any young godly and learned Ministers whom the Church of England hath not or refuseth to sett a worke send them thither. Our harvest is forward and great for want of such younge men are fittest for this Country, and we have noe need either of ceremonies or bad livers. Discretion and learninge, zeale w'th knowledge would doo much good. I have much more to write, but nowe can noe more, besides my prayers to God for a blessinge on our laboures ffarewell yo'r lovinge friend."

Before June, 1617, Whitaker was drowned.

William Wickham.

William Wickham, without Episcopal ordination took his place at Henrico, and Rolfe in 1616, writes: "Mr. Wm. Wickham minister there who in his life and doctrine gives good examples, and godly instructions to the people." On the 9th of June, 1617, Governor Argall requests Sir Dudley Digges to obtain from the Archbishop a permit

for Mr. Wickham to administer the sacrament as there was no other person, and the next March he desired "ordination for M^r^ Wickham and M^r^ Macock a Cambridge scholar, also a person to read to M^r^ Wickham, his eyes being weak."

William Mease.

Another minister, William Mease, came about 1611 to Virginia, was in charge in 1616 at Hampton, remained ten years, and in 1623 was in England.

College for Indian Youth.

In the year 1617, James the First addressed the following letter to his Archbishop.

"Most Reuerend Father in God, right trustie and well beloved Counsellor, Wee greete you well.

"You haue heard ere this time of y^e^ attempt of diuerse Worthie men, our Subjects to plant in Virginia (under y^e^ warrant of our L'res patents) People of this Kingdom, as well as for y^e^ enlarging of our Dominions, as for propagation of y^e^ Gospell amongst Infidells: wherein there is good progresse made, and hope of further increase; so as the undertakers of that Plantation are now in hand w^th^ the erecting of some Churches and Schooles for y^e^ education of y^e^ children of those Barbarians w'ch cannot but be to them a very great charge, and aboue the expence w^ch^ for the civil plantation doth come to them. In w^ch^ wee doubt not but that you and all others who wish well to the encrease of Christian Religion will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to

make experience of the zeal and deuotion of our well minded Subjects, especially those of y^e^ Clergie. Where fore Wee doe require you and hereby authorize you to write y^or^ Letters to y^e^ severall Bishops of y^e^ Dioceses in y^or^ Province, that they doe giue order to the Ministers and other zealous men of their Dioceses, both by their owne example in contribution, and by exhortation to others, to move our people within their seuerall charges to contribute to so good a Worke in as liberall a manner as they may for the better aduancing whereof our pleasure is that those Collections be made in the particular parishes four seuerall tymes within these two years next coming: and that the seuerall accounts of each parish together w^th^ the moneys collected, be retourned from time to time to y^e^ Bishop of y^e^ Dioceses, and by them be transmitted half yearly to you; and so to be deliuered to the Treasurer of that Plantation to be employed for the Godly purposes intended and no other."

Sir Edwin Sandys, the Treasurer of the Virginia Company, on May 26, 1619, made a report as to the result of the above order.[1]

Legacy of Widow Mary Robinson.

The Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, is one of the few churches in London, that escaped the great fire more than two hundred years ago. Among its respected parishioners in 1618 was a rich widow, who lived on Mark Lane in the vicinity, named Mary Robinson. Her first husband, John

[1] For report see *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 146–150.

Wanton, a Searcher of the Customs on the 15th of August, 1592, was buried at St. Olaves, and in less than a year after his death, on the 26th of February, 1592–3, she married the Chief Searcher of Customs, John Robinson, whose name appears in the first Charter of the Virginia Company, who was also buried on December 13, 1609 at St. Olaves. The widow on October 13, 1618, was buried with the remains of her husbands, and in her will, were numerous charitable bequests, one of which, is in these words: "I give and bequeth towardes the helpe of the poore people in Virginia, towardes the buildinge of a Churche, and reducinge them to the knowledge of God's worde, the some of two hundred poundes to be bestowed at the discreacon of my cozen Sir John Wolstenholme, Knight with th'advise and consulte of four others of the chiefest of Virginia Company, within two yeares nexte after my decease."

On the 18th of November, 1618, the Company ordered that preparation be made for the college for the children of the infidel Indians, and ten thousand acres at Henrico, were set apart for the endowment of the institution.[1]

Governor Yeardley, in 1619, reported that he found in Virginia three ministers in orders, and two without, and that at Henrico was "a poor ruinated church;" and a church of wood twenty by fifty feet in size, built at the expense of the people, at Jamestown.

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[1] Notices of the proposed college may be found in *History of Virginia Company*, pp. 137, 139, 152, 184, 329, etc.

Report on Projected College.

The Committee on the College, consisting of Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Danvers, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir John Wolstenholme, Mr. Deputy Ferrar, Mr. Dr. Anthony, and Mr. Dr. Gulson, on the 24th of June, 1619, "delivered over their proceedings which the Court allowed being this that followeth.

"On June the 24th the committee by the last court appointed for the college having met, as they were desired, delivered over their proceedings, which the court allowed, being this that followeth:

"A note of what kind of men and most fit to be sent to Virginia in the next intended voyage of transporting one hundred men.

"A minister to be entertained at the yearly allowance of forty pounds, and to have fifty acres of land for him and his forever; to be allowed his transportation and his man's at the company's charge, and ten pounds to furnish himself withall.

"A captain thought fit, to be considered of, to take charge of such people as are to be planted on the college land.

"All the people at this first sending, except some soon to be sent as well for planting the college and public land, to be single men, unmarried.

"A warrant to be made and directed to Sir Thomas Smith for the payment of the collection money to Sir Edwin Sandys, treasurer, and that Dr. Gulstone shall be entreated to present unto my Lord Primate of Canterbury

such letters to be signed for the speedy paying of the moneys from every diocese which yet remain unpaid.

"The several sorts of tradesmen and others for the college land: smiths, carpenters, bricklayers, turners, potters, husbandmen, brickmakers.

"And whereas, according to the standing order, seven were chosen by the court to be of the committee for the college, the said order allowing no more, and, inasmuch as Mr. John Wroth came in error to be left out, he is therefore now desired to be an assistant with them, and to give them meeting at such time and place as is agreed of."

Legacy of Five Hundred Pounds.

At a meeting of the Company on the 2d of February, 1619–20, it was announced that an unknown person was willing to give Five Hundred pounds for the Christian education of young Indians, and a special committee, of which Lord Paget was the head, was appointed to consider the matter.

On this same day a patent[1] was granted to John Peirce and his associates to transport certain persons, the

[1] The members present when Peirce's patent was ratified, were:

William, Earl of Pembroke	Mr. Thomas Gibbs
Henry, Earl of Southampton	" Samuel Wrote
Robert, Earl of Warwick	Capt. Bargrave
James, Viscount Doncaster	" Rogers
Lord Cavendish	" Bamfield
Lord Pagett	" Knightley
Sir Edwin Sandys, Kt. and Treas.	" James Swifte
" Thomas Roe	" Bamforde
" Dudley Digges	" Wheatley

Puritans of Leydon, to Virginia, and it was proposed by Sir John Wolstenholme that John Peirce and associates "might have the training and bringing up of some of these children." The Committee thought it inexpedient and so reported on the 16th of February, for Peirces' party, to use their language, "intend not to go this two or three months[1], and then after their arrival will be long in settling themselves."

George Keith.

George Keth or Keith in 1617, when thirty-three years of age, arrived in Virginia from Bermudas, where he had been the first minister, and brought with him in the ship "George" his wife, and son John aged six years.

Thomas Bargrave.

Thomas Bargrave, the nephew of Dr. Bargrave the Dean of Canterbury, and of Capt. John Bargrave, with a

Sir Thomas Gates	Capt. Berblock
" John Danvers	" Briggs
" Henry Rumfforde	" Cramer
" Nathaniel Rich	" Edwards
" John Wolstenholme	" Couell
" Henry Jones	" Woodall
" Thomas Wroth	" Carswell
Dr. Anthony	" Swinhow
" Gulston	" Moore
" Winston	" Roberts
" Bohune	" Sparrow
Mr. John Wroth	" Mellinger
" Ferrar, Deputy	and others.

[1] The "May Flower" under Peirce's patent in 1620 left England. On February 2, 1619–20, the Company ordered that the leaders of

Mr. Ward, in 1619, established the first private plantation in Virginia, on the south side of James River, and called Ward's Plantation. This minister died in 1621, and left his library, valued at about seventy pounds, to the projected college for Indians, at Henrico.

David Sandis.

David Sands or Sandys came in 1620, in the ship "Bona Ventura," and first dwelt at John Utie's plantation at Hog Island. In July, 1624, he petitioned for relief from calumny derogatory to his profession. Early in 1625 he was at the plantation of Captain Samuel Matthews within the precincts of James City. He may have been the David, to whom his kinsman, Archbishop Sandys, bequeathed a small legacy.

Jonas Stockton.

In the ship "Bona Nova," which arrived in January, 1621, came Jonas Stockton, then about thirty-five years of age. For a time he preached at Henrico, but in the census of January, 1625, he is registered at Elizabeth City, and a Timothy Stockton then fourteen years of age.

Robert Paulett.

The same day a patent was granted to John Peirce to transport the colonists from Leyden, William Tracy,

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particular plantations, with their tenants and servants, should have liberty to make orders, ordinances and constitutions for the better ordering and directing of their servants and business, provided they were not in conflict with the laws of England. Some months afterwards, in the cabin of the May Flower, in accordance with this order, a body politic was formed—See *History of Virginia Company*, page 129.

Esquire, father-in-law of Capt. Nathaniel Powell, and associates were authorized to transport people to Virginia. The Tracy Company hired a ship of Mr. Williams of Bristol, of which Tobias Felgate was pilot. It sailed in March, 1620, and among the passengers was George Thorpe, who had been a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and was appointed Deputy Governor of the college lands. Tracy left England on the 18th of the next September, and among those who settled with Tracy was the Rev. Robert Paulet or Pawlett, who came out in the three-fold capacity of preacher, physician and surgeon. The London Company chose him as one of the councillors under Governor Wyatt in 1621, but he did not accept the office because the adventurers of Martin's Hundred felt that their business required his presence continually.

Hawte Wyatt.

In the ship "George," in October, 1621, Hawte Wyatt whose maternal grandfather was Sir William Hawte, arrived with his brother, the new Governor. He remained about three years, and upon his return to England showed some Puritan sympathy. On the 3d of October 1632 he became Vicar of Bexly, Kent, the seat of his ancestors and on July 31, 1638, died.

Francis Bolton.

Francis Bolton also came with Governor Wyatt and first was at Elizabeth City, but in 1623 he was the minister of the plantation on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake

Bay. After Wyatt he appears to have been the minister at Jamestown. Thomas Warnett, a merchant of that place, in his will dated February 13, 1629–30, gives to "M[r] Francis Boulton, Minister, one firkin of butter, one bushel of white salt, six pounds of candles, one pound of pepper, one pound of ginger, two bushels of meal, one rundlett of ink, six quires of writing paper, and one pair of silk stockings."[1]

William Bennett.

In the ship "Sea Flower" in 1621, arrived William Bennett, who preached at the plantation settled under the auspices of Edward Bennett, a London merchant, in the Warosquoyak district on the lower side of James River. There is a warrant, on record, dated November 20th, 1623, relative to collecting the salary of William Bennett for two years. His wife came in the "Abigail" in July, 1622, and in 1624 he died. Catharine the widow, was in January, 1624–5, twenty-four years old, and with William an infant but three weeks of age, was residing at Shirley.

Thomas White.

In December, 1621, Thomas White arrived in the ship "Warwick." Governor Wyatt the next month writes to the London Company: "The information given you of the want of worthy ministers here is very true, and therefore we must give you great thanks for sending out Mr.

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[1] Genealogical gleanings of H. F. Waters.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, April, 1884.

Thomas White. It is our earnest request that you would be pleased to send us out many more learned and sincere ministers of which there is so great want in so many parts of the country."

William Leate.

Humphrey Slaney, one of the prominent members of the Company, informed them that Mr. Leate a man of "civil and good carriage" formerly a preacher in New Foundland was desirous to go to Virginia, and would put the Company to no charge except for necessaries, and such books as should be useful to him. A committee conferred with him and asked him to preach at St. Sythe's Church on the second verse of the 9th chapter of Isaiah, which he did to their acceptance, and he afterwards sailed for Virginia. On the 10th of July, 1622, the Company wrote: "We send over Mr. William Leate a minister recommended unto us for sufficiency of learning and integrity of life." In less than six months he died and Governor Wyatt replied "The little experience we have of M^{r} Leate made good your commendations of him and his death to us very grievous."

Greville Pooley.

Greville Pooley arrived in the "James," in 1622, and resided at Fleur-Dieu Hundred, on the south side of James River, adjoining Jordan's plantation. Samuel Jordan, a few months after Pooley's arrival died, and the burial service was read by this minister. Jordan's widow Cecily or Cecilia, was about twenty-three years of age, and had

two daughters, one two years old, and the other a mere infant.

A few days after the funeral, Pooley courted the widow, and was encouraged. But at a later period William Ferrar, who left London with Lord Delaware in 1618, in the "Neptune," another neighbor and brother of the Deputy Governor of the London Company, proposed and was accepted. Pooley complained to the Governor and Council in Virginia, and his complaint was referred to the Company in London. In the Transactions of the Company under date of April 21, 1624, is the following; "Papers were read, whereof one containing certain examinations touching a difference between M^r^ Pooley and M^rs^ Jordan referred unto the Company here for answer, and the Court requested D^r^ Samuel Purchas, the divine, and historian, to confer with some civilians, and advise what answer was fit to be returned in such a case."

In January, 1625, a muster of the inhabitants of Jordan's Journey was taken, and is called the "Muster of M^r^ William Ferrar and M^rs^ Jordan," and at the same time Pooley was living at Piersey's Hundred, and had two indentured servants.

A few months later, the Governor of Virginia issued the following order: "Whereas to the great contempt of the Majesty of God, and ill example to others, certain women within this Colony have of late contrary to the laws ecclesiastical of the realm of England, contracted themselves to two several men, at one time, whereby much trouble doth grow between parties, and the Governor and Council of State much disquieted. To prevent the like offense to others hereafter, it is by the Governor and

Council ordered in Court, that every minister give notice in his church to his parishioners, that what man or woman soever shall use any words or speech tending to the contract of marriage, though not right and legal, yet may so entangle and breed struggle in their consciences, shall for the third offense undergo either corporal punishment, or other punishment, by fine or otherwise, according to the guilt of the person so offending."

A Rev. Mr. Pooley and family were massacred by the Indians in 1629[1] and perhaps, it was Greville who may have found another woman to love.

Free School for English Youth projected.

Patrick Copland or Copeland, with a zeal like the accomplished Henry Martyns', a century and a half later, in the days of King James, was interested in the propagation of Christianity in India, Persia, and China. As early as 1613 he was a preacher of the East India Company, and the next year returned to England with a lad whom he had taught by signs "to speak, to read and write the English tongue and hand, both Roman and Secretary within less than the space of a year." On the 22d of December, 1616, his pupil "as the first fruits of India" was publicly baptized in St. Dennis's Church, Fenchurch Street, London. Early in 1617, Copland sailed for India as Chaplain of the "Royal James" whose commander

[1] Letter of Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville.—*Court in Times of Charles the First.*

was Martin Pring, who had explored the north Atlantic coast of America. While sailing with the East India fleet he became acquainted with Capt. Newport and Sir Thomas Dale who were in comand of vessels cruising in the Bay of Bengal and Chinese Sea, and through them became interested in the Virginia Colony.

While in 1621, the "Royal James" was returning to England, he took up a collection of more than seventy pounds[1], for Virginia, and when the vessel anchored in the Thames, in September, he notified the London Company, and in appreciation of his thoughtfulness, he was made a free brother. The Company decided to establish an English Free School at Charles City to be called the East India School, and to be dependent upon the projected college at Henrico.

In April, 1622, Copland preached before the Virginia Company, and the next June, Leonard Hudson, a carpenter, with his wife and five apprentices sailed from England to erect the school building at Charles City. On July 3, 1622, the Company also gave a receipt for £47, 16*s*, which the gentlemen mariners of the East India Company had given toward laying the foundation of a church in Virginia.

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[1] The following publication was issued :

"A Declaration how the monies, viz : £70, *s*8. *d*6, were disposed which was gathered, (by M[r] Patrick Copland, preacher in the Royal James,) at the Cape of Good Hope, (towards the building of a free school in Virginia) of the gentlemen and mariners in said ship, a list of whose names are under specified. London. Felix Kynston. 1622." 4to. 7 pages.

At this time, Copland was elected Rector of the intended college at Henrico, but a few days after, the horrible news arrived that Thorpe of the College lands, and half of the best men of the Colony had been slaughtered by the Indians, and the project was suspended.

The East India Company however, for some time continued to show an interest in the East India School which was to be in Virginia. Upon the request of John Ferrar, late in 1623, a collection was taken up for the Virginia School at the factories of the East India Company, and aboard their ships. In March, 1624, action was taken for the payment of £20 collected on one of their ships for the school. On the 30th of July, a few weeks after the dissolution of the London Company, it was also ordered that all the moneys collected should be deposited until "that Plantation be so settled as there may be use of a school there." In October, Sir John Wolstenholme, in behalf of the King's Council for Virginia, requested that the moneys for the school might be paid to him for which a proper discharge and receipt would be given. In 1625, a teacher for the school was sent to Virginia, but the Governor and Council under date of June 15, 1625, wrote: "We should be ready with our utmost endeavors to assist the pious work of the East India free school, but we must not dissemble that besides the unseasonable arrival, we thought the acts of Mr. Caroloff will overbalance all his other sufficiency though exceeding good."

Legacy of George Ruggle.

George Ruggle, late Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, in his will dated Sept. 6, 1621, has the following item: "I

give and bequeath one hundred pounds towards the bringing up of the infidel's children in Virginia, in Christian religion, which my will is, shall be disposed of by the Virginia Company accordingly, desiring Almighty God to stir up the charitable hearts of many, to be benefactors in this kind, principally for the increasing of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

Ruggle was a native of Lavenham, Suffolk, on November 13, 1585 was baptized. In the fourteenth year of his age he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and in 1593 obtained a scholarship at Trinity. In 1597, he received the degree of A.M., entered into holy orders, and the next year was Fellow of Clare Hall. In literature he was known as the writer of "Ignoramus," a comedy in which the pedantry of the common law forms, and obsolete phraseology of the lawyers, were ridiculed. It was twice played before King James, at the University by the students, and he was so pleased with the farce that he said "he believed the author and acts together had a design to make him laugh himself to death."

After Nicholas Ferrar was elected Deputy of the Virginia Company, Ruggle vacated his fellowship and became an assistant in the affairs of the Company. He died in November, 1622, and on the 19th of that month, Ferrar told the Company that Ruggle "was a man second to none in knowledge of all manner of humanity, learning, and so generally reputed in the University; of singular honesty and integrity of life; sincere and zealous in religion; and of very great wisdom and understanding; all which good parts he had for these last three years wholly almost spent, and exercised in Virginia business, having

(beside continually assisting his brothers and himself, with counsel and all manner of help,) written sundry treatises for the benefit of the Plantation, and in particular the work highly so commended by Sir Edwin Sandys concerning the Government of Virginia, but such was his modesty, that he would by no means suffer it to be known during his life, but now being dead he could not with good conscience, deprive him of that honor."[1]

In July, 1621, when Francis Wyatt was appointed Governor of Virginia, the Company gave him "a copy of a treatise of the Plantation business, made by a gentleman of capacity, and sent to lie among the records and recommended to the Councillors to study."[2] This treatise was evidently written by Ruggle.

Edward Palmer, Projector of the First University and School of Art in North America.

The traveller while crossing the high bridge of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railroad over the Susquehanna river, beholds a few rods above, a small and quite picturesque isle, which upon a map engraved by Faithorne, the celebrated copper plate artist, was designated as Palmer's Island, but in modern maps is marked Watson's Island.

Edward Palmer, after whom this island was named, was the eldest son of Giles, and grandson of John Palmer, who belonged to a family identified with Warwickshire from

[1] *History of Virginia Company*, p. 363.
[2] *Heming's Statutes*, Vol. 1, p. 116.

the time of William the Conqueror. Edward was born in Lemington, parish of Toddenham Gloucester, near the boundary line of Warwickshire. His sister Mary was the mother of the unfortunate poet Sir Thomas Overbury, who was poisoned at the instigation of the wanton wife of the Earl of Somerset. He married a relative, Muriel, daughter of Richard Palmer of Burton. Quaint Thomas Fuller writes:

"Palmero Palmera nubit, sic nubilis amnis
Auctior adjunctis nobilitatis aquis."

During the latter part of his life, he resided in London, distinguished as a virtuoso. On July 3, 1622, he received a patent from the Virginia Company. In his will, made November 22, 1624, he leaves all lands and tenements "in Virginia and New England" to Giles my son and heirs male of his body, remainder to Edward only son of my brother William Palmer and his heirs male, but if all issue fail, then all said lands to remain "for the foundinge of maintenance of a Universitie, and such schooles in Verginia, as shall be there erected and shall be called *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis* and shall bee devided into several streets or alleyes of Twentye foot broade. Provided always that all such as can prove their lawful descent from John Palmer, Esq., of Lemington aforesaid; my grandfather deceased, and from my late grandmother his wife, being sonnes, shall be there freelye admitted and shall be brought upp in such schooles as shall be fitt for their age and learninge, and shall be removed from time to time as they shall profitt in knowledge and understandinge.

"And further, my will is, that the schollers of said Universitye for avoydinge of Idleness at their houres of recreation shall have two paynters, the one for oyle cullors, and the other for water cullors w^{ch} shall bee admitted fellowes in the same College to the end and intent that the said schollers shall or may learne the arts of payntinge, and further, my will and mind is, that two grinders, the one for oyle collours, & the other for water collours, and also coullers, oyle, and gumme waters shal be provided from tyme to tyme at the charges of the said College, beseeching God to add a blessing to all these intents."

Fuller mentions that he was at many thousands expense in purchasing and preparing Palmer's Island for the object but was "transported to another world leaving to posterity the monument of his worthy but unfinished institution. Wood, in *Athenæ Oxonienses*, alluding to Palmer's collection writes, that "coming into the hands of such persons who understood them not, were therefore, as I have heard, embezzled and in a manner lost. We also had a curious collection of coins, and subterranean antiquities which one also embezzled."

The Clergy of Somers Islands.

In the first party sent by the Virginia Company to occupy the Bermudas was

George Keith.

A minister, according to Capt. John Smith, a Scotchman, and of professed scholarship, and the same person referred to on another page.

LEWIS HUGHES.

The second minister was Lewis Hughes, who came about 1615, and was a man of a good deal of narrowness, but also of much zeal and force. Like many other good men of his age he was a believer in witchcraft. He was a minister in, when Bancroft was Bishop of, London. At that time one Mary Glover, a merchant's daughter, and grandchild of the Doctor Taylor who in the days of Queen Mary was burned at Smithfield, was said to have been bewitched by one Mother Jackson. Lord Chief Justice Anderson ordered Sir John Crooke, Recorder of London, to investigate the case. The maid was brought to his Chamber at the Temple, and then the alleged witch was brought in, disguised as a country market woman, covered with an old hat, and cloak spattered with mud. As soon as she arrived the girl had a spasm, and with body stiff, and mouth clenched, through her nostrils moaned, "Hang her, hang her."

The Recorder then called for a candle and a piece of paper and held the burning paper to the girl's hand, but she did not wince; then he took a long pin, heated it in the flame of the candle, and thrust it up her nose, but she did not sneeze, wink, nor move her head. Hughes who was present then told the Recorder that he had often prayed with the girl, and as soon as he repeated the passage of the Lord's Prayer "Deliver us from evil" she "was tost up and shaken as if a mastive dogge should take a little curre in his mouth, and shake him." The Recorder then told the witch to say the Lord's Prayer, but she skipped over the above words. When the witch

touched the girl she had convulsions, and the Recorder took the woman to Newgate, when the girl became calm, and went home with her mother. In less than a month the woman was condemned, and then the girl had terrible convulsions every second day. Five ministers of London, with some Christian friends, at length came together to pray for the girl. Hughes was the leader of the meeting, and toward the close of the day, after candle-lighting, the girl with a cheerful face and loud voice cried "The Comforter is come, I am delivered," the very words her grandfather uttered at the stake. Hughes took her to his house at Great St. Helens which was his living, and there she lodged with her mother and sister for a year.

The Recorder of London advised him to go and talk with Bishop Bancroft about the case. He went, but the Bishop was indignant at his story, and sent him to the Gate House, and kept him there for four months, and wrote a book in which he referred to Hughes and his associates as "Devil finders" and spoke of the women who attended such meetings as a "sisternitie of imps."

It was probably a relief to many in London, that Hughes was willing to go to the Bermudas. Robert Rich, afterward the Earl of Warwick, was his friend. Sir Nathaniel Rich, a kinsman of the Earl, a graduate of Emanuel, Cambridge, was his correspondent, and his roommate at the Somers Islands, was Robert, Sir Nathaniel's brother.

In a letter of May 19, 1617, Hughes writes to Sir Nathaniel Rich: "The ceremonies are in no request nor the Book of Common Prayer, I use it not at all. I have

by the help of God, begun a Church Government by ministers and elders. I made bold to choose four elders from the town, publicly, by lifting up of hands, and calling upon God, when the Governor was out of the town, in the Main. At his return, it pleased God to move his heart to like well and to allow of that we had done, and doth give to the Elders all the grace and countenance that he can." Governor Daniel Tucker on March 10, 1617–18, wrote to Sir Nathaniel Rich: "That he believed M^r^ Lewis [Hughes] to be an honest and religious man, but bent upon establishing a form of prayer according to his own tradition, to the exclusion of the Book of Common Prayer."

Letter of Lewis Hughes, March, 1618.

"Having (by the mercie of God) preached the doctrine of the sabeth and hearing some to wish they had it printed, I have therefore writ it, by waie of Question and answer as plainly as it pleased God to inable me and have added thereunto an exhortation to the people here, wherein I have made a true relation of the goodnes of God towardes these hopeful Ilands, in hope thereby to free them from the evill report that goeth of them. I would intreat yo^r^ worship (if I may be so bould) to reade it and if you think it worth printing, to give it to some printer that will have a care to print it I wrote it in haste and have noe time to peruse it as I would therefore I pray you, as you read it, w^th^ a word here and there as you see cause. There is one M^r^ Alday a printer of my acquaintance that (as I think) wilbe glad of it. He dwelleth in a garden house by the brick wales as you goe from Christ

Church to Smithfield. Mr Abot of Coulmanstreet who is the Bishop of Canterburie his brother and one of the Adventurers, it may be if you speake unto him will get it licenced, he needes not trouble the Bishop but get his examiner to underwrite it. If he will not it may be the Bishop of Londons examiner will. Yor brother Mr Robert Rich is in good health thanks be to God and followeth his busines carefully, I asked or Governor if the wormes or ratts or blasting did hurt his vines he tould me noe, therefore there is hope that they will prosper well here. The rattes do not trouble us much God make us thankfull, I heare noe speech of them, Remember my dutie to Sr Robert Rich and my heartie commendations to Mr Brigges. God Almightie be wth you and blesse you to his glorie. Amen. From the Summer Islands this

"Yor Worships to commaund,
"LEWES HUGHES."

"If the bishop or his examiner mislike of any thing that I have writ, let that be crost out rather then hinder the rest, I hope they will not because I have writt nothing but what is true.

"Our Governor is not so kinde unto yor brother as I would he were, and to speake the truth, he is too wrathfull and furious in his passions towardes every bodie and wedded to much to his owne will which doth discourage many and makes them wearie of dwelling here, I have heard men of good understanding and sober cariage say that they had rather beg theire bread in England than live here, where their lives goods and libertie doth depend on the will of one man that hath noe government of his

passions. Many wish that when his time is out he may be called home and an other man fearing God and of more mildenes chosen in his rome and he well rewarded; for (to give him his right) he hath taken great paines and hath put great life into this plantation.

"John Man doth requite your brothers honest and kinde dealing very knavishly.

"M^{r} Wolverston is a great talker and will over reach a litle, therefore take heede how you beleeve him in every thing. Ther is one M^{r} Needham an ancient gentleman come now over, who is an honest man of good understanding, if he come to yo^{r} wo^{r}ship he will, if it please you to conferr wth him, informe you of our estate fully and trulie, there is also one M^{r} Inglesby a very honest man of good understanding unto whose report you may give credit. I have writ to S^{r} Thomas Smith concerning o^{r} govern^{r} if he know that I have writ any thing of him to you it may be he will thinke that I am either malicious or a busie bodie. I pray God Almightie direct you all for the best whether in continuing him or chusing an other.

"The people here doe like well of the order that I do observe in the publick wo^{r}ship of God because (as they say) it is plaine and easie and some have tould me that they will become humble suters to the next Ministers to use the same and have requested me to write it w^{ch} I have done and sent a coppie thereof unto yo^{r} worship w^{ch} I would intreat you to get some godly and learned minister to p'use and to cause it to be written faire and to send it backe againe by the next Ministers; If they like of it I do purpose by the helpe of God to get it printed at my returne.

"Get the doctrine of the Saboth printed (if you can) before you shew the maner of o^{r} publicke worshipping of God, least the Bishop have an inkling of it and so crosse both. I have sent to S^{r} Robert Rich a stronge litle fish like a dragon wth a crowne upon his head."

(*Addressed*)

"To the right Wo^{r}shipfull M^{r} Nathaniell Rich
at the Lord Rich his house in Houlburne
give these

[SEAL.]
* *
N W
*

"From M^{R} LEWES HUGHES."

Letter of Hughes, December 15, 1618.

"Sir,

"I have received yo^{r} loving l'res wherein I see that yo^{r} care of this poore plantation is great every waye. My heartie praier to Almightie God is, that it would please his holy Majestie so to guide me wth his holy spirit as in all things I may do his will. The Elders here are weake men and do therefore medle wth no body wthout me, neither do I wth them medle wth any that are too obstinate and stoute for us, of such we do informe the Governor when they do amisse. One of the Elders, M^{r} Carr, is come for England in this ship, an other is upon removing to M^{r} Poulson's land, so that there will remaine but two, I do not meane to choose any more, but continue them, that the name of Elders may be here and so a way prepared

for fit men to enter quietly into that holy calling. When the Ilands are populous, a Church government differing from that in England can not be brought in but wth much ado. Concerning preaching against Bishops and the estate of the Church of England I know that of such preaching may come hurt (as our estate standeth) therefore I do refraine from it. The booke of Common praier I do not refraine from using it in comtempt of it but because it is better for us to pray accordinge to o^{r} necessities rather then to tie ourselves to sett praiers, Here is noe meanes to recover myne arme w^{ch} was hurt wth a fall, therefore I have a desire to come home for a while before it grow past cure. Busines calleth me away therefore I humblie take my leave for this time, beseeching Almightie God to blesse you. From the Summer Ilands this 15th of Decemb: 1618.

"Yo^{r} Wo^{r}ships to commaund
"LEWES HUGHES."

"I have also received two good cheeses for w^{ch} I hartely thank you."

(*Addressed.*)

"To the right Wo^{r}shipfull S^{r}
"Nathaniel Rich Knight
"deliver these."

Toward the close of the year 1620, Hughes[1] visited England. He returned to Bermudas, but did not stay, and going back to England became a violent non-conformist.

[1] In connection with his visit was published "A plaine and true relation of the goodness of God toward the Sommer Islands, written by way of exhortation by Lewes Hughes, Minister of God's Word.

SAMUEL LANG.

Before August, 1619, Samuel Lang a minister, with his wife arrived at Bermudas, but soon a disagreement arose between him and Hughes as to the forms of worship. Governor Butler wrote that Hughes was more reasonable than Lang. To compose differences the Governor introduced a translation of the revised Prayer Book of Jersey and Guernsey. In 1619, the liturgy of the Church of England took the place of the Geneva forms which had been in use, in these isles, but the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and wearing the surplice were not required.

London. Printed by Edward All-de, dwelling neere Christs Church, 1621." The treatise was a small quarto of 24 pages.

In 1633, for five years of non-conformity, he was dismissed from preaching in the jail at White Lion, Southwark, London.

In 1640, he published "Certaine Greevances, well worthy the serious consideration of the Right Honorable & High Court of Parliament. Set forth by way of Dialogue or conference betweene a Countrey Gentleman, & a Minister of God's word for the satisfying of those that doe clamour & maliciously revile them that labour to have the errors of the Booke of Common Prayer reformed. By Lewis Hughes, Minister of God's Word. Printed in the yeare 1640." This contained forty pages besides the title. A reply was printed with this title "M. Lewes Hewes his Dialogue answered: or an answer to a Dialogue or Conference betweene a Country Gentleman & a Minister of God's Word. Scope for the Satisfying of those who clamore against the said Booke, & maliciously revile them that are serious in the use thereof. Whereunto is annexed a Satisfactory Discourse concerning Episcopacy & the Surplisse. Published by Authority. London. Printed for I. M. at the George in Fleetstreet, neere Saint Dunston's Church, 1641."

After this in 1641, Hughes issued another edition of "Certaine Grievances" with title slightly changed, and two more pages of text. In 1647, there was a minister Lewis Hughes living at Westham, Sussex.

Patrick Copland in Bermudas.

Copland upon his return from the East Indies had been on most friendly terms with Sir Edwin Sandys, and Nicholas Ferrar, the Deputy of the Virginia Company. In 1624, Ferrar was a member of Parliament, but after the dissolution of the Company, he retired from public business, to a place he had purchased at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, where he passed the remainder of his days in religious duties. His father, also named Nicholas, had bequeathed to the Virginia Company, £300 for the College at Henrico, to be paid whenever it had ten Indian students. This condition after the massacre, could not be fulfilled and then the Company having been dissolved, the money was used at the Bermudas. Copland not being able to carry on the work of education in Virginia, determined to go to the Bermudas. He arrived there, early in 1626, and the Governor was informed that he desired to see "a free school erected for the bringing up of youth in literature and good learning." Governor Wood wished "ministers were contented to preach the Gospel, and let the free school alone."

Ferrar gave two shares of land in Pembroke district for the free school. Copland preached in Warwick parish. Governor Wood mentions that he had built and disbursed £1,000 sterling and purchased five shares of land. Wood in 1634 wrote "I desyre not to see any more Scotesmen to bee minister or school master here, for M^{r} Coapland would have sent unto Aberdeine for a Scotesman to haue been a schoolmaster, but I verily thinke his project is to

haue such a one to marry a daughter he hath, and at his death to conferre his estate upon him."

In January, 1642–3, with others, Copland left the Church of England and formed an Independent Church, and delegates were sent to Parliament to secure an act for toleration which in October, 1645, was granted. The next year Captain Sayle, afterwards Governor of South Carolina, and the Rev. M^r^ Goulding went again as messengers of the Independent Church to confer with Parliament and Somers Island Company. On their way they stopped, and invited the Virginia Puritans under Sir William Berkeley's former chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Harrison, to cast in their lot with them, who declined, but made arrangements, by which they could go to Maryland, and have freedom of worship.

Among the correspondents of Copland were Governor Winthrop and the Rev. Hugh Peters of New England.[1] On the 21st of July, 1647, he uses these words in a letter to Winthrop who had lost his wife: "I could condole with you for your losse, and my own, but that I am not willing to renew your grief, and my owne." The language indicates that he also was a recent widower.

Governor Sayle while in London succeeded in forming a company for the settling of one of the Bahamas Islands, and obtained a patent from Parliament allowing to each settler entire liberty of conscience in matters of worship. He sailed from England in a ship provided with supplies and a few colonists, and reached Bermudas in October,

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. IV, p. 98, 5th Series and Vol. I.

1647, and not long after, took on board his ship, Copland and seventy others and sailed for one of the Bahamas groups. After many trials and the loss of the vessel they reached Eleuthera, the isle where it is said, the feet of Christopher Columbus first touched the soil of the Western hemisphere. Here, where it was as silent as the isle of Patmos, they lived, and worshipped, in a cave.

In a monthly magazine, published in Philadelphia, just a hundred years ago, a writer who had lately visited it, describes a cave he saw on the north side of the island, in a rocky ridge, not far from the coast. Its entrance was on a level with the main land, in the form of an arch about fifty feet in height, and its length was about three hundred and fifty. The lofty roof had apertures for air and light, through which the luxuriant vines and shrubbery of the Bahamas had intruded. Near the center of the cave was a large irregular rock, in which steps for ascent had been cut; surrounding it, were great stones which served as seats, and not far distant was a mahogany monument, on three sides of which were inscriptions to the memory of "James Seymour, who was born in Bermudas in the year 1640, in the month of October, on the sixth day, and died in the year 1650, upon the tenth of September."

The first winter of the exiles, on this wild isle of the sea, was one of suffering. When Governor Winthrop and others in Boston heard of their distress, a collection was taken up for their relief, among the churches of that vicinity, amounting to about £800 sterling. Supplies were purchased and placed in a small, hired vessel in

charge of James Pen and Abraham Palmure. They sailed from Boston on the 13th of 3d mo. O. S. (June) 1650, and reached Eleuthera on the 17th of the next month.

Scottow, the aged Boston merchant, in his "Narrative of the Massachusetts Colony," quaintly alludes to the aid of the New England Puritans to their suffering brethren. He writes; "They served God in houses of the first edition, without large chambers, sealed with cedars, and painted with vermillion, a company of plain, pious, humble and open hearted Christians called Puritans.

"When news was brought hither that the Church at Bermudas was banished thence, into a desolate island and full of straits, forthwith they sent a vessel of good burthen to them fully laden with provisions of all sorts, each striving who would be forwardest in so good a work, which supply came unto them, when as all the meat in their barrels, and oil in their cruise was spent and it was brought on the Lord's day, as their faithful pastor had finished his exhortation from Psalm 23, To trust upon the Lord Jehovah, their Shepherd who would not suffer his flock to want."

A committee of three was appointed to express the appreciation of the sympathy of the Massachusetts churches, and they gave in return, for the benefit of Harvard College then in its infancy, ten tons of Brazilletto wood, "to avoid that foul sin of ingratitude so abhorred of God, so hateful to man." The vessel arrived in Boston on the 6th day of 6th month, bringing among others the daughter of the deceased minister George Stirk, to visit her brother George

who had been a student of Harvard; a son of Nathaniel White the pastor of the Church; and Mr. Stephen Painter, a zealous layman, one of the original members of the Independent Church of Bermudas, who had been sent to England at the same time as Pastor White, on an accusation of high treason, and was acquitted.

There is evidence that Copland died before 1655, and it is supposed at Eleuthera.

APPENDIX.

THE VIRGINIA LOTTERIES. *See page* 89.

For a time the Lottery scheme was abandoned, but on February 19, 1614 O. S., the Privy Council made the following minute:

"Whereas it pleased their L'dships some moneths past at the humble suite of the colony of Virginia to gyve order for the writing of certaine letters unto the several Cittyes and Townes of the Kingdome inviting and perswading the Inhabitants thereof to adventure in a certeyne *Lotterye*, such somes of moneye as they should think fitting according to the rules enclosed in the sayd Letters, thereby the better to enable ye sayd Companye to proceede in that plantacon of Virginia:

"And forasmuch as upon further consideracon it was commanded by the Boarde, that staye should be made of the sayd Letters, until further order might be given on that behalfe. It was this day (upon the humble suite of Sr Thomas Smith, with the rest of the Company of Virginia) thought fitting, and so accordingly ordered, that the sayd letters should forthwth be delivered unto Sir Thomas Smith, to the end they might be sent, and dispersed according to their several direccions."

LETTER OF VIRGINIA COMPANY A. D. 1616, TO THE CITY OF SALISBURY.

"Whereas the Royal, most excellint Majesty, under his great seal of England, authorizes the Virginia Company for the setting up of a lottery for the benefit of that Plantation.

"We by virtue of said grant do earnestly pray and desire you Mr Mayor, Mr Recorder, and the Aldermen of the City, your brethren, to be assistants to our deputies Gabriel Barber and Lott Peere, being also members of our Company, to whom for the approved trial which we have of their care and sufficiency, we have committed the management of a running lottery to be kept in that, your city of Salisbury requesting so much more earnestly, your furtherance therein, for it is for so good a work as the upholding of that Plantation, which we have now great hope, and greater than before, should stand and flourish to the honour and benefit of the realm.

"And although we are well satisfied of these men's integrity, and have already given them an oath for their just and true dealing in this employment, with all men, yet to satisfy you and the world, in the most exact manner that we may, we desire you to receive the key, here enclosed, of the prizes, and to see the mingling of them with the blanks, and appoint one or two of your City, men of care, to lock up, and open the same every morning, and evening, and permit a child, who shall be allowed for his pains, to draw out the lots for all that adventure, as shall those we employ not be suspected of popularity, who shall only pay out those prizes that shall

be drawn, and yourselves be encouraged, if they shall so desire, to give them the testimony of the said proceedings.

"In so doing both ourselves shall have great cause to thank you, and the Plantation to acknowledge your love and kindness towards the same. And so we bid you hearty farewell.

"From London, 19th of December, 1616.

E. Sheffield	Jo. Danvers
Pembroke	Edwin Sandys
H. Southampton	Dudley Digges
Will. Paget	John Wrothe
Thomas Cavendish	Richard Martyn
Thomas Smyth	Jo. Wolstenholme."

THE AFFAIR OF THE SHIP "TREASURER." *See page* 112.

Among the Manchester Papers in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, is a supposed memorandum of Sir Nathaniel Rich, of which the following is an abstract:

"Statement intended for a speech before the Virginia Company, in defence of the Earl of Warwick, against whom Sir Edwin Sandys was accused of entertaining some ill feeling. The Earl had sent the "Treasurer" to Capt. Argall, then Governor resident in Virginia, by whom it had been despatched to the Western Islands for salt and goats, and who had sailed for England before its return. Capt. Yeardley the existing Governor had advertised Sir Edwin Sandys, then Treasurer, and the

Council of Virginia that the ship was supposed to have gone to rob the King of Spain's subjects, in the West Indies by direction from my Lord of Warwick. Sir Edwin and the Council agreed that it was necessary to communicate this information to the Lords of the Privy Council having first blotted out my Lord of Warwick's name from the letters. * * * * The business was dismissed without prejudice to any, the Earl of Warwick having used his influence in behalf of Capt. Argall. But about the beginning of Lent [1620] came new letters from the Governor of Virginia, directed as the former were to the Treasurer and Council for Virginia, to the effect that the ship had come back to Virginia. But having cold entertainment, soon departed in a very distressed state, leaving there, amongst others, one principal member of the Company, a master's mate or lieutenant, which man the Governor examined upon his oath concerning their voyage, who, though to the endangering of his own life confessed that they had been robbing the Spaniards in the West Indies.

"It was a ground of complaint against Sir E. Sandys that as soon as he received the second dispatch, with the deposition, he assembled the Virginia Council, and persuaded them to acquaint the Spanish Ambassador, and the Privy Council, and so to put upon my Lord of Warwick, suddenly a confiscation of his ship and goods."

LETTER OF JOHN BALDWIN. *See page* 133.

John Baldwin, a freeman who arrived in the ship "Tiger" in 1622, and worked for George Sandys, for

several years, wrote the following, to a friend in Bermudas:[1]

LETTER OF JOHN BALDWIN.

"My love remembered vnto you and to your wife, I hope you are in good health as I am at this tyme. Mr Sandys hath dealt vnkindlie with vs he maketh vs serve him whether wee will or noe and how to helpe yt we doe not knowe for hee beareth all the sway, but I hope to doe well enough yf God blesse me this yeare.

"I thank god I have had my health very well here, all our company is livinge but three, William Lanes, Will'm Smith wch weare killed with the Indians goeinge to worke in the wood. They lay in a tree that was newlie felled where they killed them. Thomas Knowles is dead; but I thinke he had bene livinge now but we had a base fellow to our overseer, wch was the occasion of his death; for he was sicke awhile and could not worke, and then he went to him and beate him that he fell down presentlie, and could not stand, and then they carryed him to bed, and there he lay sixe days and neither eate nor drank. Ffor the land it is a plentifull countrye. I like yt well yf the people were good that are in yt; but they are base all over for yf a man be sicke, putt them into a new house, and there lett lie downe, & starve for noebody will come at him. I heard the "Seafflower" was come to the Bermudas. I pray you send me word yf I have euer a

[1] Lefroy, Vol. 1, p. 265.

kinsman in her. William Allen[1] is here come servant for five yeare Thomas Cole is here but he liveth very poorlie. I pray you remember my love to John Harris and Thomas Wilkinson and Hugh Wall, and Henry & Rowland[2] Sheene, and his mate Daniell, to Robert ffludd[3] at Somersett, to M[r] Bagley, and his wife[4] and to M[r] Crosse. Thus I rest y[or] euer loveinge.

JOHN BALDWIN.

"Postscript

"It hath been a verye hard tyme w[th] all men they had like to all starve this yeare; there was them; that paid fortye shillings a bushell for sheld corne. But howsoeuer, they dye like ro[tten] sheepe, noe man dies but he is as full of maggots as he can hould. They rott aboue ground."

LITURGY, IN 1618, USED AT BERMUDAS. *See page* 189.

The following liturgy of Lewis Hughes, in no way to be compared with the terse and chaste service of the Church of England, sent over in 1618 to Sir Nathaniel

[1] Came in 1623, in the ship "Southampton" and was a servant of Abraham Piersey.

[2] Rowland Sheene living in Pembroke district, as late as 1628.

[3] Was at Bermudas, as early as 1617.

[4] Judith, wife of Roger Bagley of Pembroke, in February, 1628–9, was presented by the Grand Jury, for having drawn a knife in Church, and swearing by God's blood, that she would stab John Stamers, who told her to keep her child quiet.

Rich, has been copied from the manuscript, in the Duke of Manchester Collection, for the writer. The spelling has been partly modernized.—

It reads.

"THE MANNER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND SERVICE OF GOD IN THE SUMMER ISLANDS.

First, a psalm is sung.

After the psalm the minister saith.

O come let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord, our Maker.

Then all the people do kneel, and the minister prayeth as followeth:

O Heavenly Father, we thy poor children do here cast down ourselves before thy Holy Majesty, in the name of Jesus Christ, to worship thee, and do acknowledge and confess from the bottom of our hearts that we are not worthy to appear before thy Holy Majesty, nor to open our mouthes to speake unto thee, nor to receive any favor from thee, for we have broken all thy commandments, and are in such hardiness of heart, blindness of mind, dulness of spirit, and dedness of conscience, as we cannot repent us of our sins as we should, but do continue in them, and daily increase the number of them to the great dishonor of thy holy name, and daily provoking of thee unto wrath; our estate, therefore, is very fearful and lamentable, if thou shouldest mark straitly what is amiss in us, and deal with us according to our deserts; but, dear Father, there is mercy with thee, thy holy and

great name be therefore praised, and we come to thee now, in the name of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, to beg mercy. Have mercy therefore upon us, Holy Father; have mercy upon us for Christ Jesus, His sake; and show thy mercy in forgiving our sins, and in granting true and speedy repentance unto us, and in turning away from us all these judgments that our sins have deserved to be brought upon us. And forasmuch as thou hast ordained the ministry of Thy Holy Word to be a means to bring Thy children to true repentance, we beseech Thee, therefore, to bless Thy Holy Word unto us, Thy poor children, at this time, so as it may be a Word of power to work true repentance in every one of us, to Thy glory and our everlasting comfort, through Christ Jesus, to Whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honor, thanks, praise, and glory, now and forever!

After this prayer or the like, he readeth a chapter out of the Old Testament.

After the chapter they sing a psalm.

After the psalm, he readeth a chapter out of the New Testament.

After that chapter, he readeth the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, and before he readeth he saith:

Hearken with reverence to the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, and as you hear them, desire God in your hearts to give you grace to live in obedience unto them.

After the Commandments he readeth the Articles of the Christian Faith, and after he hath read them, he saith:

God of His mercy work this faith in every one of you, and continue it in you unto the end, to his glory and your everlasting comfort, through Christ Jesus!

Then they sing a psalm, and after the psalm the minister prayeth, and goeth to his sermon.

After the sermon he giveth thanks to God for His goodness in bringing them together in health and safety to call upon Him, and to hear His holy Word, and prayeth that God would bless His holy Word unto them; also he prayeth for all God's children, especially for the children of God in England, and by name, for our King, Queen, and royal progeny, and concludeth with the Lord's Prayer."

Following this liturgy, is a Form for Infant Baptism, for administering the Lord's Supper, for Marriage, and for Burial.

Governor Butler's translation of French Liturgy.

In the article upon the Hughes Liturgy it is erroneously mentioned that the liturgy which Gov. Butler translated, was the revised Book of Common Prayer in A. D. 1619, introduced into the churches of Guernsey and Jersey. The following extracts from a manuscript published for the first time in the second volume of *Lefroy's Bermudas* show that it was the Geneva form which was adopted.

"He found that it was time if it were possible to reduce them to vniformitie: but dispayreing to bring them to that here, w^{ch} all the byshops in England could not doe

ther, he at last bethought himselfe of the Liturgie used in the Ilands of Gernsey and Jarsye, * * * * * * * being one and the very same with that of the french Protestants, thoes of the Vnited Provinces, and euen Geneua itself, * * * * * * * * Whereupon he himselfe translating it verbatim into English out of a French Bible w^{ch} he brought over with him, he caused the elder minister [Hughes] to begin the vse thereof at the administration of the Lord's supper at St. Georges upon easter day next following."

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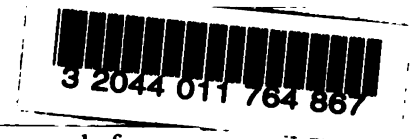

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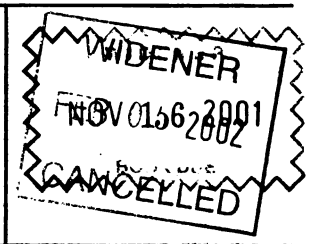

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